



# HANJAMANA

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*Edited by*

**SUBHADRA KUMAR SEN**



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## PREFATORY NOTE

Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala considered to be the doyen of Linguistics in India was the Professor of the then Post-Graduate Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University from September 1917 to January 1930. Taraporewala succeeded the German Philologist Otto Strauss who had to leave India in the wake of the First World War. Strauss had a short stint in the University. Thus the task of nurturing the Department in its formative years fell on Taraporewala. The University was fortunate to have him as at that time there was no other scholar in India who was better suited for the task. Taraporewala gave the Department its uniqueness by introducing Iranian and Indo-European studies. Since the time of Taraporewala's scenes in linguistic studies have changed both in India and abroad. The Department has been renamed; but the tradition—most powerful moorings of human civilization continues.

This collection of papers is our centennial tribute to the memory of the great savant.

Senate House  
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16.3.89

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

Irach Jahangir Sorabji Taraporewala was the "founder" of the Department of Comparative Philology (subsequently renamed Department of Linguistics) in the newly created Post Graduate Faculty of Calcutta University. This, a little belated centennial volume was planned to acknowledge our debt to him and to rededicate ourselves to the task he had set before himself. I sincerely hope that the volume is worthy of the man.

I take this opportunity to thank the eminent scholars, foreign and Indian, who have contributed to this volume for their generous response and cooperation.

I thank our Vice-Chancellor Dr. Bhaskar Ray Chaudhuri, who despite his heavy schedule of work could find time to write the prefatory note.

I thank our Pro-Vice Chancellor Academic Dr. Mrs. Bharati Ray for her active cooperation.

I thank Professor Dilip Kumar Sinha, Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Business Affairs & Finance for making this publication possible. A mathematician of great repute Professor Sinha's keen interest in Linguistics has been a constant source of our inspiration.

I thank Dr. Subhas Chandra Banerjee, Secretary University Colleges of Arts & Commerce for his assistance and advice.

I am thankful to my colleagues in the Department for their unstinted support.

My thanks go to Mr. Saikat Sanyal for checking the proofs and to the staff of the Swapna Printing Works Private Limited for printing a book which is not an easy one.

Whatever merits the book has are entirely due to those who have made this volume possible. For the deficiencies I alone am responsible.

I end this note with the conviction that by paying homage to a great man we rediscover our heritage.

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S.K.S



# Ossetic *čōnuY* 'sledge', Avestan *čanat*

H. W. Bailey

Indagation (philosophical search) into the Iranian word \**čānuga-* 'sledge' has led to an assured interpretation of the Avestan *čanat-* of the compound *Yašt* 5. 130 *čanat.čaxra-*, one in a list of epithets to *xšaθra-* 'possessions'.

Ossetic, descendant of the ancient Alan language, has *čōnuγ*, *čōnāγ*, and with voiced initial *ōzōnuγ*, *dzōnāγ*, Iron (Eastern dialect) *dzōnīγ*. These forms derive by normal changes from \**čānuga-* and \**čānaga-*; hence naming the sledge as the 'smoothly rolling car'. The base is then *kan-*, and palatalized *čan-* 'to move smoothly'. An Iranian word of the region north of the Caucasus is often found borrowed in the North (Finno-Ugrian) and the North-East (Turkish) and the South (Caucasus). This occurred also in this word for 'sledge'.

Thus South-western Caucasus Abaza has *jānāk* (but the closely related dialect Abkhaz lacks it). The North Caucasus Avar has *čanay*, close to the original Alan form. Turkish in *Al-Kāžγārī*'s dictionary (Turkish-Arabic) has *čanaq*, and modern Turkish dialects show various forms of that. The Lapp *čyonne*, the intermediate Iranian being now known, represents Iranian \**čānaka-* with the later replacement of *-aka-* by *-ē* (as often within Iranian). It had been kept separated from the Turkish *čanaq*.

The Avestan *čanat.čaxra-* 'with smoothly running wheels' has long been uncertain. In *TPS* 1956, 106 I discussed Armenian *čanu-parh* 'journey' as a tautologous compound from Parthian (*par-* is the base 'to depart'). But at that time I could compare only Iranian *čand-* 'to move, shake' and assume an increment *-d-*.

A proposal to change *čana-* of the Armenian *čana-parh* to *čar-* 'to move around' failed to satisfy me. So the Avestan word stood uncertain. The word *čānaga-* provides the desired base of a specialized motion.

Ch. Bartholomae, in the *AIW* had suggested to compare Latin and Celtic *can-* 'to sing', but thought also to assume a corruption of *hvan-* 'to sound'.





# On Indo-European Pronominal "Roots"

G. Bonfante

According to Benveniste's thesis, which is of course based on laryngeals, all "Indo-European" roots are "triliteral", that is, in phonetic terms, they are composed of **consonant + vowel + consonant**. That is, admitting laryngeals :

1. roots like *\*ed-* ('to eat'), *\*ok-* ('eye'), etc. had an initial laryngeal, that changed (or preserved ?) an ancient (undetermined ?) vowel into e, o or a; so instead of *\*ed-*, *\*ok-* we had once (I do not give a number to laryngeals) something like *\*hed-*, *\*hok-* and so on, and the triliteral scheme is safe;

2. roots which in our Brugmannian or Hirtian system end in a long vowel (e.g. *\*dhē-* 'to put', *\*dō-* 'to give') really had once a short vowel + laryngeal (*\*dheh-*, *\*doh-*) and the triliteral scheme is safe;

3. roots of the type *\*bher-* ('to bring'), *\*sed-* ('to sit') were "triliteral" from the beginning, and there is nothing to change.

Everything is very easy with laryngeals; too easy! Therefore, accepting Benveniste's main idea ("triliteralism"), but avoiding laryngeals, proposed (in *I Mille*, Florence 1970, pp. 190ff.) :

1. that in roots like *\*ed-*, *\*ok-* etc. the initial vowel had what we call a "hard attack", or *spiritus legis*, as in German nowadays (as opposed to the French *liaison*); this *spiritus lenis* (so marked by the Greeks) took the place of an initial consonant; thus they enter into the "triliteral" organization;

2. roots ending in a long vowel (like *\*dhē-*, *\*dō-* etc.) are metrical equivalent to the type *\*bher-* or *\*sed-*, and were felt as such by the Indo-Europeans;

3. roots of the type *\*sed-* or *\*bher-* were quite in order anyhow.

No Indo-European roots like *\*tō-*, *\*sō-* etc. can exist.

But there is one big question, which nobody, as it seems, has

tackled. Benveniste's system (apart from the laryngeals) is really valid for verbs and nouns (and consequently for adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, which are derived from the noun-verb unity); but how about pronouns? Does anybody propose to derive them from nouns or verbs? I think not.

Now, there can be some discussion about the personal pronouns (Latin *eg-o*, Sanskrit *māy-ā*, *tvāy-ā*, Latin *nōs*, *uōs* etc.) and about numerals (\**ol-no-s*, Sanskrit *duv-āu*, \**trēy-es*, Greek *téssares*, *pēnte*, Sanskrit *pāñča* etc.); with some trick or other linguists may well achieve to find triliteralism (but \**mě*, \**tě* ?). But I cannot see absolutely by what means triliteralism can be discovered in \**sđ-* (Greek *ho*, Latin *ip-se*, Sanskrit *sa* etc.) or in \**to-* (Latin *is-tu-d*, Greek *tód*), Sanskrit *tá-d*, where *-d* is of course an ending, cfr. Latin *qui-d*, *quo-d*) or in \**k-đ-* \**k'-ě-* (Latin *quod*, *quid* etc.), or in \**kđ-*, \**đ-*, cfr. e.g. Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Gramm.*, Strassburg, 1904, pp. 399 sgg.

In conclusion: Benveniste's theory about roots is quite valid for the nouns, verbs, etc. It is doubtful for personal pronouns; it cannot be absolutely adapted to the demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns, which present forms that are absolutely impossible to insert in the "triliteral" theory. Are they possibly older?



# The Cognomenta of Two Germanic Matronae

E. A. Ebbinghaus

In a recent article G. Neumann (1987) has analysed several of the *cognomenta* of Germanic *matronae*. With a clean and consistent methodology and sober argumentation he has succeeded in demonstrating for a score of these names purely Germanic origin. Towards the end of his article (125 f.) Neumann gives a list of fifteen *cognomenta* which remain unexplained and remarks: 'Bei mehreren dieser M.B.N. [i.e. Matronen-Bernamen] ist es denkbar, dass sie noch eine plausible Erklärung aus dem Germanischen finden.' It so happens that I have amongst my notes some remarks on three of the *cognomenta* in Neumann's list (which, as will be seen later, can be reduced to two) and should like to present them here.

1. Neumann (126) has gathered together as a group AVDRINETHAI, AVTHRINETHAI and AVTRIAHENAI though he does not claim them to be identical. If the well known terminal elements of these names are abstracted, we are left with *audri-*, *authri-*, and *autri-*, respectively. It is known that in manuscripts and inscriptions Lat. *t* and *th* both can represent Germanic *þ* (cf. Schotteld xxii). Therefore, it is possible to assume that both *authri-* and *autri-* are identical. The two can be further analysed as *autthi-* plus *-ri-*. The ancient element *-ri-* seems to have formed adjectives of GK *idris* OIcel *vittr*, Goth *\*riurs* OIcel *ryrr*; but it can also be found in other derivations, cf. Goth *\*wulþ-u-s* : *\*wulþ-r-s*. The preceding *autthi-* can be taken as representing the Germanic root *\*auþ-* which is present in e.g. Goth adj. *\*auþs* (or *\*auþeis* GK *eremos*) subst. *aufida*, OE adj. *leoe barren*, OHG *zodi* 'desolate' subst. *odi* 'desolate/waste land,' &c.

If the preceding analysis were acceptable, the entire name could be interpreted as the 'maires of the waste land'. The term 'waste land' may disturb the modern reader in its apparent vagueness. However, in the narrow confines of local topography such designations are not unknown. I might remark that in 'modern' America about a dozen miles from my home there is a vast area of poor soil, grown with shrubs, inferior timber, which is called 'The Barrens'.





2. The third name in Neumann's list is ANDRINEHAE. I think that it must be kept separate from the name discussed above on account of its dental. Lat. *d* represents quite regularly the Germanic voiced spirant *ð*, in manuscripts and inscriptions. However, in all other respects the structure of the name appears to be identical with that of the name(s) above.

After one has abstracted the terminal *-nehae*, there remains *audri-* which again permits to think of the suffix *-ri-*. That leaves the nucleus *aud-* which can easily represent the Germanic root *\*auð-*, Germanic *\*auð-*, deriving from IE *\*aud-*—an extension of the IE root *\*au-*/*\*awe-*, is very well represented in the individual Germanic dialects. The basic meaning of the IE root *\*aud-* must have been approximately 'good fortune, luck, wealth', to which on the basis of Breton *ozach* 'master the house' one may perhaps add the semantic dimension of 'domestic power'. Germanic reflexes of *\*aud-* can be seen e.g. in Goth. *audags*, Gk. *makarios*, *\*audahaftis* 'blessed' (OS *od* 'possession, wealth' (OE *eudig*, OHG *otac* 'blessed, wealthy' (Oft. *aufigr* 'wealthy' &c. Germanic *auð-* is also frequent in names: cf. *audica* (Suebian king 6th c.), *audelfeda* (Franconian princess 5th c.), *audolena* (Burgundian 7. c.), *audoin* (Langob. 6th c.) cf. also the Hlyr. name *audarus*.

All this leads to an interpretation as 'matrix of good fortune, wealth, possessions'.

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# Sandhi and Non-Sandhi in Albanian

Eric P. Hamp

Not much has been published specifically or explicitly on *sandhi* phenomena in Albanian. Most of the available information is in the form of *obiter dicta* in the course of discussion of other topics, or of now somewhat dated historical reconstructions, or in grammars or dialect descriptions of more general scope. Much Albanological literature is fairly scattered or inaccessible in language, and this discourages broad use and incorporation in our theoretical and survey literature, see Hamp 1972.

Therefore, as a way of approaching the topic which I hope to continue on another occasion, it is appropriate to begin by discussing the one generally accessible work dealing with *sandhi* in Albanian, Cimochowski 1950. Actually, this article is for the most part occupied with a historical and reconstructive problem, one on which it makes a notable contribution: the dual representation **dh** and **ð** (orthographic **dh**), of **ll** \***d dh** and \***g gh**; i.e. each of the latter set appears to show *both* of the former reflexes in Albanian, and *sandhi* had already been invoked by Pedersen to explain the difference. Cimochowski's discussion is, however, prefaced by a more general discussion of Albanian *sandhi*.

That discussion takes the form of single illustrations of supposed *sandhi* situations and the observed Albanian output, or result. Pedersen had spoken very early about **j** and **v** as sounds generated in prehistoric Albanian in the role of Hiatusstülger (i.e. transitional glide between vowels). This is really a question of reconstructed Albanian phonotactics, and not demonstrably restricted to 'external *sandhi*' situations—quite apart from the fact that in historical Albanian it has been totally moribund and non-productive. In my experience, one has at most dialect variants, for she that (fem. sg. nom.) we find in some dialects **əʃ** and in others **əʃə**; I am not even sure **əʃ** is historically prior to **əʃə** in the modern attestations. There is no alternation to sustain a rule inserting **v** in historical Albanian that could not be stated under another theory as a simple allomorphy in the addition of inflexional suffixes: **v** before vowel but not before consonant.

There are words which in all of Albanian or in dialects turn up

with unexpected or uncycymological *h*, *lokt* used to speak of inorganic *h*. This is partly a matter of etymology. The female of art 'beet' is surely *harushe*. The element *-ushe* is thought to be a suffix, and *-t* is surely a later accretion on this and other male monosyllables. I claim that the *h* is simply a contextual survival of an old consonantism which once appeared as *\*arh*, being lost in final position. Some words (Tosk *idhete* 'bitter' (Geg *hith* 'nettle')) may or may not be related. Some dialects show a 'Cockney' effect, e.g. that around Prespa, where the neighboring Makedonski confirms this area-contact trait. Such 'Cockney' forms presumably then may be borrowed (in the past) into other dialects. As a result of such symbiosis we then find hyper-forms with *h-*. Such a form must be star. Cimochowski thought Scutarene *hyll* 'original' but surely Dushmani *yll*, pl. *yz-t* *\*y-ze-te*, is the expected form, all the archaic and isolated enclaves, especially those with a clear spirant [x] or [ɣ] for *h*, which could not have readily lost *h* nor were ever demonstrably adjacent to such a dialect—all these varieties show a vowel initial for this etymon. I know of no evidence for alternation of initial *h-* in Albanian, and only routine phonotactic rules for its deletion in medial position.

Cimochowski speaks of 'fausse décomposition' in the case of *tjeter* / *jaterë* (in different dialects) pl. *te tjere* *-a* 'other'. The notion here would be that the presence/absence of *t-* would be explained by a type of misdivision of the particle (article) *\*të*. No doubt that such an element is involved. But I would claim that the dialectal inconsistency is semantic in origin. We must remember here that Romanian *celălalt* 'other' shows us that there is an ancient Balkan complexity in the morphological reflection of semantics in this expression. The complexity underlying *elit* which *\*tjeli-t-*, gen. *të elit*, is, I claim, one of fossilized and conflated (cor)relatives. The explanation here is, then, syntactic.

Cimochowski adduces Geg *tjelyn* 'butter'. From Tosk of Asamati (Prespa) I have *lyran tamist* 'the fat of the meat'. Here we simply have an ancient nominalized participle, with the particle of concord *te* stripped off. Again Geg *tamibiel* 'milk' is in origin the nominalized adjective *āmbel* 'sweet'. These are really questions of etymology. The noun *terrë* 'darkness' is a more living and semantically productive formation, although Dushmani has (according to Cimochowski, the expert on that dialect, see Hamp 1983) only the accusative construction, with preposition, *kë met n terr* 'has remained in darkness'. The unions seen in these locutions are not simply (or perhaps at all) results of *sandhu* but are founded in frozen phrasal syntaxes.



On the other hand, Cimochowski mentions a case of *m*-segmented close phrasal juncture: *Dëshmorët nji (em-pl) hanchës t'abëssë* related to *që* and *qabëssë* (found elsewhere). Thus we have *m* *sem nji j u mël aux hanches nje dhemp nidi* (Jē' + *m* *sem m nji*) among younger speakers. I would further propose that here the preposition *m* = *mbe* has been falsely extracted from the *-m* (even the phonologically strong North Geg \**m* = *mbe*) of *sem*. In this instance we have not so much old *sandhi* but even misanalyzed phrasal syntax, i.e. one of the main sources of pure syntactic change.

We may finally turn to an instance of dialectal change founded in true *sandhi*, the only case in my opinion of true indubitable *sandhi* (i.e. external) instanced by Cimochowski. North Geg loses the indefinite genitive inflexion of the noun. That is, definite and indefinite gen. merge, assuming the shape which appears to be the inherited definite. Thus *(nji) djah t mir* 'of a good boy' = *djahit* because phonetically the nexus is identical with *djahit* (et *mirë* 'of the good boy'). The reason for this is that *t#t* → *tt* (in a close phrase, here an NP) → *[t]* because by a long standing rule of Albanian phonotactics there are no phonetic geminates, i.e. sequences of like consonantal segments (including affricates) at a certain level of integration become monosegmental. Then, contrary to Cimochowski, *vajzë s bukur* 'of a beautiful girl' is *not* analogous in origin, rather it follows the revised rule of masculine phrasal {NP} syntax. All of this finally leads in North Geg to the absence of the concord particle with the adjective (or adjunct) in genitive syntax. Therefore, *bab-s mir* 'of (the) a good father'. This development has a (contact, I should say) parallel of simplification in inflexion of the genitive NP in the neighboring Serbo-Croatian—a topic for another day.

Thus we have in this *sandhi*-originated phenomenon a basis in phonotactics but exclusively over morpheme boundaries (internal *sandhi*) and within phrases over word boundaries (external) followed by an extension governed by syntactic rule (concord).

All these matters raised by Cimochowski are in some measure diachronic (as is the heart of his article), and at least comparatively dialectological. This is really of no moment to us for the present, indeed we might like to argue for a dialect or speaker based dynamic synchrony whereby we may for the time being neglect the precise synchronic scope of some of these relics of diachronic action. Nevertheless, I want to a) point out how little of these matters is truly a function of *sandhi sensu stricto* in a useful sense and b) bring to a wider audience good work and observations by a scholar (+1982).

of great merit, for a neglected language and again, of set the basis of my own observations more clearly than otherwise in the tradition of our studies. Most of the careful work on this aspect of Albanian is historical.

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# The Role of Accents as Suprasegmental Phonemes in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī

S. M. Katre

In his introduction to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī Patanjali refers to two specific aims for the proper study of grammar (vyākaraṇa) under the captions (1) *asam-deha artham adhy-eyam vyākaraṇam* and (2) *duṣ-ṭaḥ śabdaḥ*. Under the first aim he refers to the recitation of *vapikāḥ* where in the passage *sthu-la-pṛṣ-atiḥ agni-varuṇim a-labh-eta* the place of accent on the word *sthu-la-pṛṣ-ati* will determine its meaning. If accented on the final syllable of the compound it denotes a *tatpuruṣa* compound but if accented on the first member it is a *bahuvrīhi* compound and the sense of the passage will ultimately depend on the position of the accent. Therefore, accent is important to determine the meaning. The example cited is from a Vedic text which is generally accented. Under the second aim a specific reference is made to the position of the accent in relation to the meaning intended citing the famous example of *Indra-sat-rus*, again a Vedic example. Here too the placement of the accent determines the nature of the compound. If the first member bears its proper accent it is a *bahuvrīhi* and if it falls on the final syllable of the compound it is a *tatpuruṣa*. The story of Vṛtra's sacrifice originally intended for him to become the vanquisher of Indra was sabotaged by his cunning priest by a change of accent to make Indra his vanquisher.<sup>1</sup> While this position holds good for the Vedic language the question whether the system of accentuation associated with it continued to persist in later times is one which is worthy of some consideration. Among the various systems of grammar which have survived that of Pāṇini alone lays a meticulous stress on this feature. Since Pāṇini composed his Aṣṭādhyāyī to give a description of his native speech as current among the educated class, this emphasis on the accents associated with lexemes consisting of nominal stems, verbal stems, the vast group of affixes, increments, substitutes, etc. is an indication that it was significant in his current speech. Apart from the individual accents associated with the lexemes and morphemes referred to by him there is also the placement of a single accent on the grammatical word generated in the form of declensional or conjugational expressions. However, the primary meaning depends on the accent of the lexeme as generated by the addition of affixes to nominal or verbal stems.



In generating ordinals from cardinal numbers P 5.2.49 indicates the affix *māṭ* after numerals ending in *-n*, yielding the following ordinals: *pañca-mā-*, *sapta-mā-*, *asta-mā-*, *nava-mā-*, *dasa-mā-* respectively denoting fifth seventh eighth ninth tenth. P 5.3.49 denotes an affix *-aṇ* after numerals preceding *cāven* to generate fractions: *pañca-mā+aṇ* = *pañca-mā-* 'one-fifth' with the accent falling on the initial syllable (6.1.197) — a clear indication that this accent is a suprasegmental phoneme. Similarly P 5.2.54 generates the ordinal *dvi-tīya-* 'second' while 5.3.48 derives the fraction for 'half' with affix *-aṇ* yielding the surface form *dvi-tīya-* with the accent on the initial syllable.

Paṇini indicates two affixes *-ka/kaṇ* which some times generate identical surface forms but with different accents associated with different meanings. Thus 5.3.74 generates the form *aśva-ka-* meaning 'a nag' while 5.3.96 gives us *aśva-ka-* with accent on the initial syllable to denote 'an image or model of a horse'.

Another set of examples will suffice to indicate the nature of accents as suprasegmental phonemes. P 6.1.201 indicates the lexeme *kṣay-a-* to denote 'a residence' with the accent on the initial syllable while *kṣay-a-* with its proper accent on the final syllable denotes 'something else'. Similar is the case with the expressions *jay-a-/juy-a-*, the first indicating an instrument while the second indicates an agent.

It may also be noted that in the accentuation of *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds, there is no conflict: where a *tatpuruṣa* compound is accented in the first member, the same compound as a *bahuvrīhi* will be accented on the final syllable of the compound as contrasted by 6.2.2 versus 6.2.172: *a-ratha-a-ratha-* 'not a chariot/without a chariot'.

There are, however, indications that accent was noticeable in the current speech described by Paṇini since in 6.1.181 he specifically refers to the optional placement of accent on the declensional forms of numbers for six, three and four in *-bhisvām* (spoken medium). Its phonemic status, however, seems to have gradually disappeared by the time of Patanjali. In his *Mahabhasya* while commenting upon the first *sūtra* he defines the expression *ta-para-* occurring in 1.1.70 [*ta-paras tat-kala-sya*] in two ways: once as a *bahuvrīhi* and once as a *tatpuruṣa* compound. If the *sūtra* text handed down by oral tradition contained an accentual system, Patanjali could not have attempted to analyze that form in two ways. It is therefore no wonder that later grammatical systems paid little attention to accentuation with reference to classical Sanskrit as distinguished from the earlier form occurring in Vedic texts.

# Some Avestan Notes

M.A. Mehendale

## 1 tā . aparō 'with him as second

In Y 45.11 occurs *yasta duēvang aparō mašyascā tarāa mastā*. Insler proposes to read *ā parō* in place of *aparō*. In his commentary, he interprets *ā.parō* as nom. pl. of \**ā-par-* 'guilty' which he treats as a derivative of *par-* 'to judge as guilty'. Accordingly Insler translates the above line as 'the person who in this very way, has opposed the guilty gods and mortals'.

Humbach, on the other hand, translates the passage as 'Wer sich mit ihm als zweiter über Dävas und Menschen erhaben fühlt'.

If Humbach's interpretation of *tā . aparō* is correct we have in this construction an exact parallel to the Sanskrit compound of the type *ātmanadvitīyah* with *sat* as a second i.e. 'accompanied by one more person' recognised by Panini (6.3.6).

## 2 *abifrā-* 'incomparable'

*abifrā-* (*ad*) occurs only once in the Gathās (Y 33.13). Bartholomae (92) assigns to it the meaning 'ohne Gleichen unvergleichlich'. Humbach accepts this meaning and translates the Gathic passage *rafāhrāi vouruēkānē došāi moī ya vā abifrā* as 'Zu Hilfe o Weithinblickender! Zeige mir, was eure unvergleichlichen Eigenarten sind'. He does not comment on the word.

Insler, however, does not accept the above meaning. He renders the passage as 'Lord of broad vision disclose to me for support the safeguards of your rule'. Commenting on this word he admits it to be difficult. Since the attested form is not *abifrā*, he does not look upon the initial *ā-* as *alpha privativum* but takes it to be a shortened form of the preverb *ā-*. In his opinion the attested form *abifrā* stands for the original \**ābifrā*. As regards the form, he derives the stem \**ā-bifrā-* from \**ā-bihhira-*, i.e. from the root *ā-bhr-*. For the unexpected change *-bhr-* > *-fr-*, he cites the parallel AV *jafrā-* 'deep' = Vedic *gahhirā*. As regards the meaning, he says that the root *bhr* in the sense 'support' occurs in the Gathās. Apparently, according to Insler, the meaning 'safeguard' can be had from 'support'.

H. P. Schmidt<sup>1</sup> has already pointed out the difficulties in admitting Insler's interpretation but he accepts Insler's derivation of **-bifra-** from **bhar-**. He treats **a-** as *alpha privativum*. The meaning he assigns to **abifra-** is not to be carried off 'inalienable', because in his opinion **bhar-** has the connotation 'carry off' (cf. Yt. 10.21).

Schmidt's interpretation suffers from the fact that **bhar-** with the preverb **apa-** can have the connotation 'carry off' but not with the preverb **ā-**. That would rather have the opposite meaning to 'carry to or near'.

Accepting Bartholomae's suggestion that **abifra-** means 'incomparable', it is possible to make a suggestion regarding the etymology. While teaching the mode of formation of the ordinals, Pāṇini has used the word **pūrṇa** (*tasva pūrṇe* 5.2.48). Accordingly Sk. **dvītiya** 'second' literally means 'What fills what completes the number two'. Taking a cue from this it is possible to explain **-fra-** in **-bifra-** from the root Sk. **prā-**, Av. **\*par-** (*tham-pafrati*) 'to fill'. **Bifra-**, like **dvītiya-**, then would mean 'what completes the number two, i.e. the second'. **Abifra-**, like **advītiya-**, would mean 'without a second, incomparable'. It is likely that **bifra-** due to a semantic shift, got the meaning 'double, one to compare with'. The V. 13.44 passage *sunahrē vēvahrē ašta bifram*<sup>2</sup> would mean 'The one dog has eight doubles or persons to compare with'.

### 3. **māyavant-** full of bleats (or bleat-making sheep)

The word in its fem. form **māyavanti-** occurs only once in a younger Avestan text. Bartholomae (1968) assigns to it hesitatingly the meaning 'wo Begattungen stattfindend'. The passage in which the word occurs runs as *kāša ašaum apajaso šithyavasa haca gaomaitibyasa vayavaitibyasa haca māyavaitibyasa-* (Habbot Nask 2.16) 'von den Statten, die mit vierfüssigen Tieren und mit Vögeln bevölkert sind und wo deren Begattungen stattfinden' ('). (Bartholomae 1969). Since the dwelling places are here first described as full of cattle (*gaomaiti-*) and birds (*vayavaiti-*), it would be natural to expect the following word **māyavanti-** to have a comparable meaning. It is possible to obtain this by interpreting the word **māya-**<sup>3</sup> as 'bleating sound' from Sk. *mā* (*mīmati*) 'to bleat'. We may compare with this interpretation Av. **anumaya-** 'sheep'. The word **māyavant-** would then mean 'full of bleats (or bleat-making sheep)'.



## Notes

- 1) *The Gathas of Zarathustra*, 1975
- 2) *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* Band I 1959
- 3) *op. cit.* p. 103
- 4) *op. cit.* p. 53
- 5) *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33* 1985
- 6) See for pl. The explanation offered here of **bifra-** should answer Barthoomac's question 'Was bedeutet \*plo- eigentlich ?' (under **hl-fra-** 965)
- 7) Accordingly H. Reichelt *Avesta Reader* (p. 252) 'Cohabitation supplied where cohabitations or pairings take place (doubtful) and M. E. Kanga (*Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane* p. 250) 'full of enjoyments of love'
- 8) Cf. Sk. **māya-** 'bleating'

## Bibliography

- 1) S. Insler *The Gathas of Zarathustra* E. J. Brill, Leiden 1975
- 2) Heinrich Humbach *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* Bande I, II, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag Heidelberg 1959
- 3) Hans Peter Schmidt *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33*, (with contributions by Wolfgang Lentz and Stanley Insler) American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1985
- 4) Hans Reichelt *Avesta Reader* Texts, Notes, Glossary and Index, Karl J. Trubner, Strassburg 1911 Photomechanischer Nachdruck Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1968
- 5) *Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane* (A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to ) ed. by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941

# The Indo-European Lexicon and its Usage as a Problem in Reconstruction

W. Meid

It is a well-known fact that it is difficult – and in many cases impossible – to establish beyond doubt the Indo-European terms for common concepts of the real and abstract world. This is so largely because the Indo-European languages, which are the material basis for our attempts at reconstruction, only too often have different terms for the same concept, or feature variants whose original semantic distinctions we can no longer discern. Those parts of the universal Indo-European vocabulary which it is possible to reconstruct beyond doubt are usually elements of the basic vocabulary, i.e. terms for concepts from Man's natural sphere: his environment and living conditions, which express fundamental experiences and insights, and whose meaning is constant for all members of the speech community. This includes terms for Man himself with respect to sex, kinship and age; terms for body parts and bodily functions; unmistakable phenomena and impressions of inanimate Nature such as heaven and earth, sun, moon, and stars, fire, and water, wind, rain, it is snowing, winter, cold, warm, etc. To a certain extent it also includes elements of animate Nature, such as the names of wild and domesticated animals, and wild and cultivated plants, though here changes in ecological and economic conditions may impair the constancy and universal validity of this section of the vocabulary. But "fish" and "bird" at least were fixed concepts in the minds of the Indo-Europeans. Further, the vocabulary which has survived proves that they knew and named the wolf and the bear, and that they had domesticated cattle, sheep and pigs. Less certain, however, is whether the early Indo-Europeans, or all the later Indo-Europeans after the migrations, knew the beech, which does not occur east of a line from Königsberg (Kaliningrad) to Odessa.

Apart from these basic terms the vocabulary is marked by its variability. The temporal and spatial aspect and, in conjunction with them, the sociological aspect (socio-cultural differences, class distinctions) are responsible for the greater part of language variation (i.e. variants on the synchronic level, language change on the diachronic axis). What the Indo-European languages have preserved of this original diastem, is due to the chance element in history and in

the preservation of written traditions, but a limited selection. To attempt to reconstruct the original reference system out of these isolated reflexes would be an impossible task.

The objective of Indo-European linguistics is to reconstruct Proto-Indo-European, and thereby also to throw light on the prehistory of the individual Indo-European languages. To reconstruct Proto-Indo-European is, however, easier said than done. Behind the optimistic and sometimes naive view that it is possible to reconstruct Indo-European—or at least its basic features—lies the illusory concept of the unified character of Indo-European. This illusion is fostered by the methods of comparison and linear reconstruction, whereby we compare only what is alike or very similar, which is then filtered out, assigned a hypothetical pre-form and projected back into the proto-language, thus giving it a semblance of unity. But when we include the differences, rather than explaining them away, we get alternative reconstructions. And these diverging results of linear reconstructions indicate the existence of synchronic irregularities and variations, or diachronic processes within the proto-language.

Everything we know about language tells us that irregularities can and must have existed at all times. And this is precisely what makes the reconstruction of Indo-European (or of a branch of it, such as Germanic) so difficult, and virtually impossible. For the proto-language was not the ideal unified system which we aim at, but a system of constants and variables in which even the constants (the phonetic, morphemic, lexemic entities, the syntactic patterns) have not an ideal behaviour, as a result of the ability of speakers to use and use creatively. For example, a speaker can express the constant 'I' by other means than the appropriate personal pronoun/, such as the 1st person plural, the 3rd person singular ('the writer of these lines'), or by paraphrases such as 'yours truly'; the 2nd person pronoun can, in appropriate circumstances, be replaced by expressions like 'your grace', 'your honour', 'your majesty', etc. In the morphology of Indo-European, the dissociation of the accent, ablaut and other morphemes from their original relationship of mutual dependency has given rise to a system of variable allomorphs, which in their turn can become the elements of new grammatical paradigms. These, accordingly, can no longer be judged by the old criteria. The 'ideal' system, in which all the relations are still intact, has to be 'guessed' in an almost divinatory process on the basis of certain clues. But it is possible, and indeed probable, that this ideal system never existed in a pure form. In the reconstruction of the morphology at any rate there are always a number of components involved, and



a more or less strong analogical mobility of these components can be assumed even for the proto-language. This built-in variability makes it impossible to reconstruct a system which is unequivocal in all details, and claims that this can be done are illusory. There is no "pure method" by means of which one can objectively arrive at a pure system. What can be extrapolated with some degree of certainty are basic typological patterns and trends of development, morpho-semantic categories, paradigmatic classes and similar broad structures. The small-scale pattern cannot be determined in detail, precisely because it was by nature variable. We can do no more than to reconstruct set-pieces of a diasystem. To group and arrange these into individual systems which mirror the spatial and temporal continuum which was Proto-Indo-European is an attractive task, which however can only be tackled by means of "internal reconstruction" when the first stage of work has been completed. To this end part of what would need to be done is to aim at and reconstruct the proto-language from the vantage point of each individual language or language group, to compare and contrast the results of such reconstructions with one another and to relate them to one another in the framework of a diachronic and diatopic total system. But we are still a considerable distance away from such a step. A breakaway from the rigid reconstruction of the "Standard Model" of Indo-European, largely dominated by Greek and Indo-Iranian and a breakthrough to new insights about a differentiated picture of the proto-language can be expected when we start with Hittite, which can increasingly be seen to be one of the key languages for the reconstruction of Indo-European. Instead of presenting lengthy arguments here, let me refer to my article 'Der Archaismus des Hethitischen' in the volume *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* edited by F. Neu and myself, and to other works of mine in which an attempt is made to use other languages (such as Celtic or Germanic) as a basis for reconstruction', with a view to modifying the traditional picture of Proto-Indo-European.

To return to the lexicon: the lexicon reflects the outer world through the mirror of a world view which is conditioned by knowledge and experience and is thus particularly subject to change. As a kind of *perpetuum mobile* it is the real motor of all language development and change. To reconstruct a prehistoric lexicon is thus not merely difficult in itself, it also implies at the same time: though this is a

\* *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* Innsbruck 1979, p. 159-176.

"Keltisches und indogermanisches Verbausystem" in *Indogermanisch und Keltisch*, ed. K. H. Schmidt Wiesbaden 1977, p. 106-131. *Das germanische Praeteritum*, Innsbruck 1971.

fact often ignored—a hypothesis about the particular world view which it expresses, that is its "semantics", which must be free of contradiction. Today, for example, a hammer is usually a tool made of iron. But an etymological analysis reveals that the word hammer has survived a cultural change and that the original context was the Stone Age, in which the hammer was a stone tool (cf. Slavic *kamen*—"stone").

The greater part of the lexicon does not remain constant over a long period of time, but is subject to variation, whether in form or in content. This holds for the proto-language too, which cannot be thought of as a temporal and spatial unity, for in it all kinds of sociological differences must have influenced both the formation of concepts and their expression. This is even more the case in the subsequent history of Indo-European: in the daughter languages the repertoire of the proto-language is further selected, modified, replenished and renewed, often by means of building units (roots, morphemes) inherited from the proto-language. The result is that the dividing lines between inherited forms and substances, and new formations from this material, but shaped by a different spirit, are often blurred when perceived from a later point in time.

One can assume a relatively unified, though not completely uniform, use of the lexicon (and language use in general) at the most for Early Indo-European, and even then only if this was a linguistic unit small in number of speakers and territorial extension, within which synchronic communication was in principle possible between any two speakers. In practice this will hardly have been the case, as public life is carried on in large groups, private life in small groups, which furthermore have an intimate sphere about which no communication takes place with the outside world. Intimate life, therefore, is not represented by a common norm of language use, but by linguistic habits of a special kind (jargons and group vocabulary, idiolectisms, individual use of language).

Communication in the broadest sense takes place only about *important* things, and this alone leads to the establishment of a language norm, which precisely by virtue of the important function it fulfils for the community, is handed down to future generations. Things which are of purely individual interest and of no importance for the community, and which are only talked about by a narrow circle of people, have *ad hoc* names, which are formed on the spur

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Old Norse *hamarr*, the formal equivalent of English *hammer*, German *Hammer*, has the meaning of "stone plate".

of the moment with the means at hand within the context of the given pragmatic situation. Linguistic traditions resulting from such formations are usually short-lived and limited to a small radius; norms and traditions of general validity do not derive from linguistic intercourse in the intimate sphere. This is why the vocabulary of "unimportant" things is to all intents and purposes inaccessible to reconstruction for these are being constantly renamed everywhere and at all times. Many things have in fact, no fixed name but are named, denoted or described as the need arises. For example, the many varieties of insects, grasses and herbs have no fixed nomenclature in the common language for the very reason that most of them are unimportant and thus not subjects for communication. To the extent that they can be important (for example medicinal herbs) knowledge of them is restricted to experts who strive to keep this very knowledge secret and communicate about it only among themselves. This source too has contributed nothing or very little to the common linguistic tradition. Thus wherever the individual Indo-European languages have preserved words from the intimate, family sphere which have the signs of being very old it is likely that they derive from some group language or dialect. When such material allows us to reconstruct forms these are not to be considered valid for the common language, but for some unspecified dialect or rather sociolect of it.

In the field of sexual affairs privacy and intimacy are effectively protected by the principle of non-communication with outsiders. The appropriate language usually of an affective nature, protected by taboo thus remains within the intimate and confidential sphere and does not penetrate into the general stream of communication. It is only through "indiscretion" or covertly so to speak, that this vocabulary can spread, and then only to a limited extent. Although this intimate vocabulary belongs largely to the category 'unimportant', or unsuitable, uninteresting for communication there are a number of exceptions: these are some terms of a general status for sexual organs and functions the importance of which for the life of each individual and above all for the propagation of society is generally recognized, so that communication about these biologically and sociologically relevant aspects of the sexual sphere is necessary and does indeed take place. This explains why it is precisely the basic terms of this sphere that have been inherited and can thus be reconstructed. Indo-European \**ǵen-* 'beget, give birth', \**eihh-* 'future' \**pesos* 'penis', \**ǵ'eolbhus* 'womb' \**(w)ers-* 'inseminate' (adj. 'male') \**dhē-* 'suck give suck' (adj. 'female') and others.

For the continuants of these Indo-European lexemes in the individual languages see J. Pokorny *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Bern 1959 p. 373 ff. 298, 324, 437, 81, 336, 241 ff.



As the relevant organs and functions are basically the same for man and the animals, the requirements of animal husbandry also contributed to the preservation of this vocabulary.

To conclude, let me say a word about the interdependence of the semantic structure of the vocabulary and word formation.

The essence of word formation as a productive process is that, starting from existing lexemic basic forms and meanings and using the morphological means of derivation and compounding, new "words" are built, which are assigned to certain already existing or growing morpho-semantic categories. These categories are enriched with new members through the processes of word formation. As the semantic categories (in the case of nouns *nomina agentia*, *nomina actionis*, instrumentals, diminutives, augmentatives, collectives, in the case of verbs the action types) have a definite formal shape, this serves as a pattern and a model. Thus word formation is an analogical process and the individual so-formed word a product of analogy. Its creation fulfils the concrete need for a suitable term in a particular situation and can be repeated in similar situations. It is not in the least necessary for such a form to belong to the vocabulary as a fixed and constant entity; it is sufficient that it can be so formed. Only if the relevant form is repeatedly re-created a certain number of times, indicating that what it stands for is seen to be typical, it can be taken to have been institutionalized as a fixed element of the lexical inventory. The essential point is that in a productive system word formation is *potential*, i.e. that forms can be built according to rules *ad hoc*. This is essential from the point of view of linguistic economy: in the lexical inventory only basic concepts and forms of widespread currency are stored, and not the endless chains of forms which are theoretically possible but, as they depend on need, unpredictable. These can be realized by means of an analogical process, that of the productive rules of word formation.

When we consider the lexical system of a language as a whole, that is to say, as a structural complex of units of designation which in the final analysis are individual and which are more or less systematically ordered in formal and semantic subsystems or categories, it becomes clear that productive word formation and its products play a subordinate role. They serve to fill in and fill up the system *en detail*, also to replenish and restore it, whereas the fundamental positions of the system are filled by words which, synchronically at least, are unmotivated, i.e. not dependent on any other word, but which themselves form the basis of derivation. Thus, in German, *Machbarkeit* ("makeability") depends on *machbar* ("makeable"), which

in its turn depends on *machen* ( 'make' )—this latter word however cannot be traced back further—it is formally and semantically a basic word.

From an historical point of view the 'lexicon' of a language consists of inherited words and loanwords (including "foreign words" i.e. words which have not become fully integrated) as well as recent formations which are new coinages (or replacements for old words) made of the language's formal resources. Among these the inherited words and loanwords are fully lexicalized elements of the vocabulary, whereas the products of productive word formation are ambivalent: as long as they are potentially capable of being formed, they need not be considered fully-fledged members of the lexicon. However, they frequently acquire—even if only temporarily—the status of a 'coined' word which can be called on at will after repeated spontaneous formation and use and can thus be considered lexicalized. The creations of word formation can be misinterpreted as inherited words when the formal elements of which they are built are inherited, however they are only in substance or in type inherited, and not as individual lexemes. This must be borne in mind when languages are compared, Sanskrit *bhr-ti* 'carrying, support', Latin *fors*, *forth* 'chance' and Old High German *gi-burt* (English *birth*) are not 'inherited words', but rather independent new formations based on the inherited productivity of *ti*-formations in the individual languages. In other words, just as \**bhr-ti*— was a possible formation in Indo-European, so it still was in the individual Indo-European languages, as is indicated by the varying meanings in each case based on the meaning of the verb. Only at some later stage does the word become lexicalized in the individual languages, either because the method of formation is no longer productive (e.g. *Geburt* in German) or because the connection with the verb is no longer transparent (as in Latin *fors*). For Indo-European however a word \**bhr-ti*— itself cannot be postulated, but only the possibility of its formation, that it actually was formed is proven by the fact that the process is repeated into the period of the individual languages.

In future investigations of the vocabulary of Indo-European it will be necessary not just to reconstruct the lexemes of the proto-language on the basis of the words attested in the individual Indo-European languages, but also to establish, by observing attested productive mechanisms, what words could have been formed and were thus potentially available.

One could also envisage a similar venture into the field of discourse analysis. Up to now Indo-European 'texts' (text fragments) have

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been reconstructed only from stereotyped formulaic expressions (mostly of a poetic nature), which have been preserved in identical form in the individual languages.<sup>1</sup> In future it should be possible to go a step further, and to conjecture the existence of word clusters and phrases which are not attested at all as potential texts of speakers of Indo-European. We may also use our knowledge of the lexicon and the grammar to work out such texts when there was a possibility or probability that they may in fact have been uttered. For collocations such as 'dear child' (or more generally 'dear' + any animate noun from the intimate personal field), 'don't be afraid — make a meal for me — the sun has (just) risen', 'the wolf has savaged (devoured) (another) sheep' and many others of this nature can be supposed to have occurred repeatedly in everyday life under the relevant conditions, and can thus be 'reconstructed' — i.e. phrased "in Indo-European", or to put it more guardedly, in some Indo-European dialect or sociolect, even though there may be no textual evidence or very little available in the Indo-European languages. One could also try to probe the emotional or affective side of human intercourse. There is a very real possibility that someone might cry out in anger "I'll murder you" (\*g<sup>h</sup>-henmi te) as our experience shows. Even the most notorious exhortation in German literature has often been formulated "in Indo-European" — a well-known joke among comparativists. Now all this may be considered as going too far or be viewed as light-hearted playfulness, but nevertheless such exercises in Indo-European "generative grammar" have an undeniable value. Not only do they force us to risk the step from the reconstruction of words and morphemes to the reconstruction of sentences, they also teach us something about Indo-European syntax, as the hitherto abstract knowledge about syntactic schemata takes on perceptible concrete shape. Now it is clearly an example of circular thinking to want to deduce Indo-European syntax from self-made texts, but apart from the above mentioned poetic fragments, we have only those Indo-European texts which we ourselves, using the knowledge at our disposal and considering the likelihood in each case, create as potential texts, and syntax only becomes evident through texts. The dangers of this circular thinking can be minimized, by separating the known from the unknown, by cautious feed back manoeuvres, by reasoning through analogy and so forth. The fear of circular thinking, however, should not prevent us from risking a try. Let us not forget that it was tried as far back as 1868 by A. Schleicher in his famous 'Fable in the original Indo-European language' about the sheep and the steeds, which was later modified

<sup>1</sup>Like the famous expression Homeric Greek *κλέος ἀφθιμον* = Vedic Indic *trávas(i) dksimam*.



by H. Hirt according to the level of knowledge of his day and his own views, more recently by W. P. Lehmann and L. Zgusta<sup>4</sup> and lastly, in laryngealist fashion, by M. Peters.<sup>5</sup> This was the only such attempt, and it has remained a curiosity—unfortunately so, for a continuous confrontation with the problem of a “generative” production of texts would certainly have led to some texts acceptable both in form and content, which would have illustrated Indo-European in speech acts, admittedly simulated. Even an artificial language like Esperanto lives through being used: there is all the more reason for activating a language which is artificial merely as a reconstruction but which did once actually exist. Language is not merely an historical source, and thus an ancillary historical discipline; it is also, as *Poiesis*, a source of knowledge about Man, his thought and his world.

<sup>4</sup>In *Festschrift für O. Szemerényi*, Amsterdam 1979, 455–466.

<sup>5</sup>In H. Birkhan, *Etymologie des Deutschen*, Bonn 1985, S. 306.



# Some Comments on the Etymology of Vedic *siṃhāḥ* 'lion'.

E. C. Polomé

In his *Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. 3 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1976), p. 463, Manfred Mayrhofer considers the Vedic term *siṃhāḥ* 'lion' as "unexplained" (*nicht geklärt*). Listing the various efforts made to etymologize the word, he concludes in every case that it must have been a loanword. Although it is well documented in the Rig Veda (cf. Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964, 4th ed.], col. 1515) and has survived in the modern Indo-Aryan languages—sometimes with the meaning leopard or tiger (cf. R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* [London: Oxford University Press, 1966], Nr. 13384, p. 772)—it has no cognates in the other Indo-European languages, except for Armenian *inj*, 'leopard' (the Armenian word for 'lion' being *ariwc*). Whether this correspondance allows us to reconstruct an IE \**siŋgʰo-*, as Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav V. Ivanov (*Indoeuropéjskij jazyk i Indoeuropejcy* [Tbilisi: Publishing House of the State University, 1984], vol. 2, p. 507) suggest, following Antoine Meillet (*Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique* [Vienna: The Mechitharists' Press, 1936, 2nd ed.], p. 142) remains disputable—more plausible is Georg R. Solta's view (*Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen* [Vienna: The Mechitharists' Press, 1960], p. 421), that we do not deal with an inherited IE term (*idg. Erbwort*), but with a loan of Armenian and Old Indic from the same Asiatic source, which might be related to Japanese *shishi* 'lion', as was already suggested in 1923 by H. Petersson. It should, however, be noted that Armenian *inj* can be explained differently as related with Skt. *piṇjārah* 'red-dish-yellow,' of a golden color' and further with *piṅgalāḥ* 'reddish-brown, yellow,' *piṅkte* 'dyes, paints,' Lat. *pingere* 'paint,' etc. (Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 [1963], pp. 268–269, 273), felines being often named after the color of their coat.

Toch. A *śiśāk*, B *śecake* 'lion' has been considered as a borrowing from Indo-Iranian (cf. Gamkrelidze-Ivanov, *op. cit.*, p. 510), but A. J. van Windekens (*Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes* [Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie

Générale, 1976], pp. 480—481, indicates that none of the proposed borrowing hypotheses properly accounts for the Tocharian forms of which dialect B represents the most archaic one, reflecting an older \*sēteqo— versus \*sliēqo— in A śisak—its stem being related with Lat. *saeta* 'hair (of an animal)'. The Tocharian terms would accordingly reflect an adjective referring to the lion's mane—an interpretation which Pavel Poucha (*Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae* [Prague: Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelství, 1955], p. 324) had already proposed with a different IE etymology, comparing Welsh *hoenyn* (< \*sogno—), *hwynyn* *saeta caesaris* (= hair).

While those who consider Vedic *siṃhah* as borrowed from an Asian language usually look for an eastern source, the resemblance of the Vedic term with Swahili *simba* 'lion' has occasionally been pointed out, and Mayrhofer's statement (*loc. cit.*, s.v. *siṃhah*) that this similarity may not be purely accidental, deserves perhaps closer consideration.

As Mayrhofer indicates, when reference is made to the Old Indic form, the Swahili term is usually explained as an Indian loan. The extensive Swahili dictionary of Father Charles Sacleux, compiled at the beginning of this century, though only published decades later (*Dictionnaire Swahili-Français*, vol. 2 [Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1941], p. 806), compares both Skt. *siṃhah* and Arabic *seba'*, plural of *ṣabu'* 'wild beast, lion', but none of the later dictionaries refer to such parallels or possible sources anymore. It is indeed fairly well established that Swahili is an inherited Bantu term—as Malcolm Guthrie (*Comparative Bantu*, vol. 3 [Farnborough: Gregg International, 1970], p. 105) has shown, there is a Proto-Bantu stem \*-*ɕimba* designating some type of feline. Its meaning varies regionally, presumably according to the ecology: perhaps, it originally meant 'wild-cat'—a meaning which is still found mainly in the west of the Bantu territory, but which also appears sporadically in the center and in peripheral areas in the east. The following sampling is given by Guthrie:

- Maragoli (Kenya) [F 41] *ɕke/simba* (cl. 7/8)
- North Bobe (Bota island, Fernando Po) [A 31a] *n/i/simba* (cl. 9/10)
- Bushong (Zaire) [C 83] *ʃim* (cl. 9/10)
- Kamba (Kenya) [E 55] *n/θimba* (cl. 9/10)
- kiKongo (Zaire) [H 16b] *n/simba* (cl. 9/10)
- Ila (Zambia) [M 63] *in/simba* (cl. 9/10)
- Kwanyama (Angola/S.W. Africa) [R 21] *om/ʃimba* (cl. 9/10)—  
implying an underlying initial \*k- or t-
- Tswa (Mozambique/Zimbabwe) [S 51] *simba* (cl. 9/10)



In Southern Sotho (Lesotho) [S 33] *tship'a* (cl 9/10) means 'genet' as well as wild-cat, whereas the term has taken the meaning 'leopard' in Gweno (Tanzania) [E 65] *θimba* (cl 9/10) and in kimbundu (Angola) [R 11] *olu/simba* (cl 11/10)—also designating the genet in the latter

The meaning 'genet' is exemplified as follows by Guthrie

Lwena Luvale (Angola/Zambia) [K 14] *ḡimba* (cl 1a/2)

Bingi (Zaire) [L 22] *nḡimba* (cl 1a/2)

ciCewa (Malawi/Zambia) [N 31b] *ṣimba* (cl 1a/2)

Ntomba (Zaire) [C 35a] *n/simba* (cl 9/10)

Bemba (Zaire/Zambia) [M 42] *in/imba* (cl 9/10)

Manyika (Zimbabwe) [S 13a] *tsimba* (cl 9/10)

Venda (Zimbabwe South Africa) [S 21] *tshimba* (cl 9/10)

Zulu (South Africa) [S 42] *in simba* (cl 9/10)

Nandi (Zaire) [D 42] *olu/simba* (cl 11/10)

luGanda (Uganda) [E 15] *aka/simba* (cl 12/10)

In Kikuyu (Kenya) [E 51] *ḡimba* (cl 9/10) designates the black mongoose. The meaning 'lion' is exemplified by the following languages in Guthrie (loc.cit.):

Mwera (Tanzania) [P 22] *imba* (cl 1a/2)

Gogo (Tanzania) [G 11] *l/simba* (cl 5/6)

Matengo (Tanzania) [N 13] *li/himba* (cl 5/6)

Matumbi (Tanzania) [P 13] *imba* (cl 5/6)

Yao (Malawi/Tanzania/Mozambique) [P 21] *li/simba* (cl 5/6)

loKele (Zaire) [C 55] *ṣimba* (cl 9/10)

Ombo (Zaire) [C 76] *n/simba* (cl 9/10)

Lega (Zaire) [D 25] *n/simba* (cl 9/10)

Nyika (Kenya) [E 72b] *tshimba* (cl 9/10)

Sukuma (Tanzania) [F 21] *ṣimba* (cl 9/10)

Iramba (Tanzania) [F 31] *n/simba* (cl 9/10)

Shambala (Tanzania) [G 23] *ḡimba* (cl 9/10)

KiUnguja (Zanzibar) [G 42d] (= standard Swahili) *simba* (cl 9/10)

As the map of the semantic distribution of these forms shows, the meaning 'lion' prevails in those savannah regions of eastern Africa where lions still abound nowadays, and it does not occur in the equatorial forest zone which never had a lion population. It should indeed be remembered that the large geographic range which the lion occupied in prehistoric Europe declined mainly near the end of the late Pleistocene as a result of the gradual formation of dense forests in which the animal could no longer thrive (cf S O'Brien et al., "Biochemical Genetic Variation in Geographic Isolates of African and Asiatic Lions," in *Research*, vol 3 1 [1987], pp 114—124, esp. p. 115).

What does this imply for a possible connection between Swahili *simba* and Vedic *simháb*?

(a) since Swahili *simba* derives directly from a well documented Bantu term for the "feline" borrowing from Old Indic—which would furthermore entail serious phonological problems if the Vedic *-h-* should reflect an IE *\*-ǵ-*—is fairly well excluded,

(b) since Vedic *simháb* has no IE cognate outside of the ambiguous Armenian *inj* 'leopard,' one might wonder whether the term could not be a loanword belonging to the cultural sphere of the Indian Ocean where relations by sea between the east coast of Africa and the west coast of the South Asian subcontinent, taking advantage of the monsoon have existed since time immemorial

What is the plausibility of such an hypothesis?

First of all, one would have to account for the penetration far inland of an African term at a time when the Vedic Indians had not even reached the Ocean. To be sure the latter must have been familiar with the lion in their original homeland—even if they lost the IE root *\*lew-* that designated the animal—and echoes of its cultural significance may still be found in the Rig Veda, e.g., V, 83.3, where the thunder in Parjanya's rainclouds is compared to the roaring of a lion or X, 28.4 where Indra's words imply that the lion is ranking highest among the animals above the fox (cf. Gamkrelidze-Ivanov, *op cit.* p. 510 fn. 1). Lions were however, uncommon in the lands they crossed on their way to the subcontinent, where again they found another variety of lions of which about 250 still survive in the Gir Forest Sanctuary in Gujrat. Why, however, would these be called by a Bantu name? They were not imported from Africa, though they shared a common ancestor with the African lion many millennia ago (cf. O'Brien *et al.* *loc cit.*). Thus, the name could not have come with a new species introduced into the subcontinent.

Moreover, was there a East African 'Wanderwort' like *simba*, meaning 'lion' at the time of the composition of the Vedas? This question brings up the problem of the dating of the Bantuization of eastern Africa—it is now fairly well admitted that the original Bantu homeland is located in the Cross River basin near mount Cameroun, although there may be some differences of opinion as to the stages and timing of their migrations. A symposium organized by the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in 1977 examined the linguistic and archeological aspects of the problem in detail (cf. Luc

Bouquiaux, ed. *L'expansion bantoue* [Paris: SFLAF, 1980] 3 volumes). From these studies it would appear that eastern Africa was only occupied by Bantu immigrants around the beginning of the Christian era, some moving south in the coastal area between 200 and 400 A.D., but that the territory was not thoroughly settled until 1000—1100 A.D. (David A. Phillipson. *L'expansion bantoue en Afrique orientale et méridionale: les témoignages de l'archéologie et de la linguistique* in Bouquiaux *op cit.* vol. 3 pp. 649—679, esp. pp. 671—675). Under those circumstances there is no way a Bantu term could have reached India from the eastern coast of Africa as early as the end of the second millennium B.C. or the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

In conclusion, the resemblance between Vedic *simhāb* and Swahili *simba* lion appears to be purely fortuitous and does not point to any etymological connection whatsoever.





[ ] lion  
 [ ] genet  
 [ ] wild-cat

\* leopard  
 \* blackmongoose

Proto-Bantu \* \* Cambo

# Hittite Etyma for Greek Obscuriora

Jaan Puhvel

For all the labor expended during the last century, and in the wake of the etymological dictionaries of Boisacq, Chantraine, and Frisk, *'unerklart'* and *'ohne Etymologie'* remain distressingly frequent summations in the Friskian vocabulary. I am not thinking of puzzling *hapax legomena* or exotically opaque noun items but of reasonably well-known verbs attested from the Iliad onward, such as *paúō* 'stop', *ēpuō* 'cry out', and *néōō* 'pick up'. Their hiatic shapes reflect the havoc that the phonological upheavals of Greek have created for etymology, but even the mastery of those complications by Georg Curtius and others more than a century ago did not bring solutions. Clearly the inventory of hitherto attested cognate languages failed to turn up lexical matches.

It is here that the new material from Hittite comes in. These are rich philological data which must be sifted, savored, and appreciated down to minute formal and semantic nuances, before being thrust into confrontation with potential extra-Anatolian cognates. I have tried previously to define and illustrate what I think are viable approaches in this regard, as well as express reservations about what seem to be lamentable and cavalier shortcuts in the procedures of some scholars who practice Greek-Hittite lexical matching, notably O. Szemerényi and A. J. Van Windekens. In the Lines that follow, inscribed to the centenary memory of Itach Taraporewala, I shall attempt to extract *ēpuō* and *néōō* from their obscure isolation with the help of Hittite etyma.

Loudness is a concomitant component of *ēpuō* (cf. *Iliad* 13.521 *brēpuos* 'loud shouting'), but it is not the semantic kernel, that is, rather the nuance 'cry out to' in order to compel attention, thus 'summon' and more specifically a medial 'call to account', with a juridical tinge (Arcadian *apuesthō o adikēmenos ton adikenta* 'let the wronged party call the wrongdoer to account'). The *ēputa kērux* 'crier herald' of *Iliad* 7.384 is back formed from *ēpuō* (aorist *ēpusa*) (cf. *autē* from *aúsai* 'cry out') which allows the verbal stem to be posited as *\*(H)ápus-(ye/o-)*. This stem matches the Hittite verb (*appa*) *hap(p)us(s)-*, 'the meaning of which in the Hittite law code is 'reclaim' (from Lat. *reclamāre* 'cry out') in the sense of 'recover for use' (cf.

'reclamation project'), so that the participle **happusant-** means 'second-hand' (KBo VI 26 II 48 ŠA TUG **happusandas** 12 GIN KÙ. **BABBAR** '[the price] of a second-hand dress [is] twelve shekels silver', vs. thirty shekels for a TUG SIG 'fine dress'). From there the term has become conventionalized as roughly 'do over, rerun', and in administrative lingo 'bring up, make up for, resume, reschedule', used especially referring to old rituals and neglected festivals or offerings (which they then frequently 2 ŠU **hapussanzi** 'make up for twofold'). In this way a subtle semantic technicalization has made the Hittite verb veer away from the 'outcry' of its outset, even as 'loud(ly)' is no longer an intrinsic part of the semantics of English 'claim' (which can be internalized or made on a piece of paper). Greek *ἐπυό* has stayed closer to the 'hue and cry' of the primary setting, but there too the legal summoning process was evolving away from shouted decibels to mere process-serving. There are lessons here for the vagaries of evolution of abstract and technical vocabulary, a proper appreciation of which will nevertheless let us glimpse the underlying proto-form.<sup>1</sup>

*Néō* is a mere wreck of a verb, inferrable from the Iliadic imperfect 3 sg *néēi* (*Iliad* 23 169, where Achilles 'piled flayed animal corpses around Patroklos' body on the pyre) and 3 pl *neēon* (*ibid.* 139 and 163 *néēon hulēn* 'they piled wood' for the pyre, *Iliad* 24 276 'they piled' on a wagon the ransom for Hektor's corpse), and indirectly from the aorist *néēyas* (*Iliad* 9 358 *néēsas eu néus* 'after loading up the ships'). The Homeric *enēneon* (*Iliad* 7 428 *nekrous purkaiēs epenēneon* 'they piled corpses on the pyre' *Odyssey* 1 147 *uton purenēneon* 'they piled up food') is not a reduplicated aorist but a more archaic imperfect \**en-e-Hnes-* with preverb and augment from \**en-néō* 'pack in, load up'. As such it may be compared with the Hittite verb (anda) **han(n)es(s)-** which has a technical sense of 'plaster' in medical and constructional contexts, and also a figurative meaning 'lay in profusely, pile on' (e.g. blessings such as wealth and lordliness). Just as a wall was something poured (**kutt-**; cf. Gk. *khutē gála* 'earth-heap') and a fortress or stronghold was literally a 'jamming' (**sahessari**), **haneswar** was a packing or piling of material on surfaces so as to cover them, perhaps earlier mortar on earth buttresses, later on 'plastering' in a more refined sense. The constructional variation between Greek and Hittite ('pile corpses on a pyre' — 'ply a wall with plaster') is of a well-known type (cf. e.g. Lat. *mactare victimam deo* 'sacrifice a victim to a god' besides *mactare deum victima* 'ply a god with sacrifice') which creeps into Greek itself ('pile corpses on a pyre', but also 'load up ships' [with whatever]). In Hittite, too, plastering of body parts, houses, walls, water-tanks, and drainpipes is done with material in the instrumental case (wax,



clay, mortar, etc.), but in the figurative exhortations the older construction lingers 'pile on long years, pile on wealth'.) In this manner *\*en-neō* and (anda) *han(n)es-* point jointly to an IĒ *\*Hnes-* with the meaning 'pile on pack in', even as Gk *āpuō* and Hitt *hap(p)us-* presuppose a *\*Hapos-* 'cry out', similar in stem type to Gk *odussasthai* 'be wroth' and Hitt *hatuk-* 'be terrible' pointing to *\*Hodug-*.<sup>4</sup> The constructional variation may be present in *āpuō* and *hap(p)us-* as well, for the thrust in Hittite is 'cry out for' > 'lay claim to' (something that is due), whereas in Greek it is 'cry out against' > 'call to account' (someone about something owed). These examples indicate how deeply the semantics of etymology may be hidden in the thickets of textual philology.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>"Homeric Questions and Hittite Answers", *American Journal of Philology* 104 (1983) 217-227.

<sup>2</sup>The alternative scriptio difficilior *ha-ap-pu-us-* clinches the case for etymological *\*p* under "Sturtevant's law" (its converse being less reliable, for a single spelling, however consistent, is always suspect as a scriptio facilior, therefore e.g. Hitt *hapus-* 'penis' is nevertheless best connected with *hap(p)essar* 'attachment, limb', cognate with Lat *aptus* 'joined', *cōpula* 'bond').

<sup>3</sup>A J. Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. A. Kerns* [Amsterdam, 1981] 336) compared *hap(p)us(s)-* with Gk *pauō* 'stop', positing a proto-meaning 'put off, tarry', but the Hittite attestations are the very semantic opposite of 'put off, omit, overlook, neglect', they relate to the rehabilitation of disuse and mismanagement.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. my remarks on this subject in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Melanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris, 1979) 301 = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* (Innsbruck, 1981) 369.

<sup>5</sup>See further Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* 1-2 (Berlin, 1984) 267.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Jaan Puhvel, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 37 (1980) 203.



# A marginal note on Sanskrit case-syntax

Haim B. Rosén

A fitting tribute to the memory of Irach J. S. Taraporewala might be a modest—more illustrative than supplementary, note to one of the paragraphs of his *Sanskrit Syntax*—which may—in spite of its compactness—well be considered one of the most sober, lucid and insightful presentations of its subject.

While he states (loc. 48) that 'the domain of the dative has been particularly strongly invaded by the genitive'—so that—in general—'it is really impossible to classify properly the uses of this case without considerable overlapping' (49)—Taraporewala rightly judges it to be best to consider the grammatical aspect of the genitive first—and subsequently resorts to a classification *depending upon the idea involved*—for it is only by the latter method that we apprehend the rich domain of ideas covered by this case and appreciate the working of the human mind' (49). Taking this path of thought—which no adjective would more properly describe than the term 'structural'—Taraporewala avoids the pitfall of presenting a grammatically functional element in view of its translational equivalent or equivalents in more current languages—and—in the case in point—does not exhibit a distinct meaning or function of the genitive which in quite a few other grammars has been traditionally named *genitivus pro dativo*, although (52) he accounts for a usage which would—in a different way of presentation—quite easily come under that heading: 'the usual way [to indicate possession like the English verb 'to have'] is to use what is called the predicative genitive'—he thus presents a syntactic construction that would valence-wise correspond to *mīdri est* while a valentially different verbal root *d'r-* is much rarer and, above all, not applicable in the present tense—which would correspond to the normal copulaless use of the predicative genitive construction. Transposing a Latin sentence (or—for that matter—one in Greek, Russian, Hebrew, Coptic or many a *be*-language) involving a *mīdri est*-type grammatical predicate—one would have to introduce a Sanskrit genitive for the original dative. This results from a certain typological difference in the syntax of the languages compared which I have had occasion to expound in an earlier study<sup>1</sup>—there are languages in which the predicative expression for possession is, inasmuch as case is concerned, the same as the attributive one, e.g.

Lark *patay I* his money vs. *I may I* car he has money and there are others in which the nominal possessive case does not coincide with the predicative one precisely like Latin

*pecunia patris* vs. *est pecunia patris*,

while *pecunia patris est* does not express the FACT of possession, but the IDENTITY of a possessor whose being in possession of whatever is concerned has already been established. In some languages both types of syntactic relation are in certain given conditions, legitimate ;

Et *Jean a l'argent* vs. *l'argent de Jean* but also

*Cet exemplaire est à moi* in view of *un ami à moi* Hom. Gr. *hetairos* my friend vs. *hetairós est moi* "I have a friend"

It would appear that in Sanskrit such a duplicity of construction does not prevail in the sense that—in the predicative as well as in the attributive nexus—the genitive (rather than the dative, as in the languages from which the above examples have been quoted) is used. Examples abound to quote one or two from Taraporewala, i.e. *Buddhir yasya, balam tasya, Dewā Arjunasyasyāb'awan*. (his rendering "Arjuna had the gods on his side")

Having thus accounted for a genitive as a means of expression for a possessor (in a very broad sense of this term) without expressly limiting the validity of his statement to any specific syntactic status, Taraporewala may have been right in not going any further into the spectrum of the possible grammatical connections of the possessive genitive. However, other grammarians, whose being non-indigenous may have misled (*sic*!) them into supporting their presentation by ethnocentric semantic considerations, situated the "having genitive in a different, sometimes broader context viz that of the "Genetiv an Stelle des (zu erwartenden) Dativs" or a "dative like genitive", but it is precisely this context which may be worth-while looking into if we wish to assess the *valeur* of the Sanskrit genitive in a wider Indo-European perspective.

The circumscription of the area of correspondence of the Sanskrit genitive and the dative of other Indo-European tongues, apart from what may be perceived as properly "possessive" at first sight may be viewed in the light of the following somewhat *gauche* "remark" by Speyer (o.c. 99) included in the concluding paragraphs of his treatment of the genitive :



In Latin with such turns as *adimo vestem veris* or *veris civium* or *civibus dolor motus est* the dative and the genitive are both available. Sanskrit invariably uses the genitive.

In these phrases which could have been given as a matter of fact in any other extra-Indo-European Indo-European language, the dative is involved (optionally in this case—as Speiser has correctly observed) in a function which is obviously not its "normal" adverbial one and in which it fulfils—as has been first recognized by Wilhelm Havers in his *Untersuchungen zur Kasusyntax in den indogermanischen Sprachen*—a function properly vested in the genitive by the mere ADNOMINAL character of its syntactic employ. This type of dative given by Havers the surprising—but now commonly used name of "dative sympathetic" as a function in a semantic domain which we shall set presently forth in a manner otherwise typical. The genitive obligatorily is a personal pronoun but facultatively otherwise. The fact that accounts for the variation in the Latin expressions cited by Speiser (which do not involve the *e* pronoun). A translation, say into German or Latin, of the Sanskrit examples appended by Speiser to his general statement could easily illustrate the sympathetic dative. *Na hi simhavya vṛshavya prajvānti mukhe mṛgah* (Panc. II 14) "Nicht treten Hirschkuhe einem schlüpfenden Löwen ins Maul hinein." *Leoni dormiente in os non introeunt cetuae*—*Hiranyako pi Man'arakyasv prajamam kṛtvā* (ibid. 115) "ja wie H. der M. Elberbüttung erwiesen hatte." The term "genitivus prodativo" used in the description of Sanskrit case syntax is a Germanic or Latin-centric one as could be. Old Indic differs from the rest of ancient Indo-European in that—in the former—the optionality of the sympathetic dative outside the pronominal domain is not made use of.

We have had occasion to show that the adnominal possessive dative—as it should be properly called—is operative in the semantic domain of inalienable (or inseparable) possession, appurtenance, or other relational notions. This is valid also for sentences which describe the abolishment of such appurtenance by means of a verb of "taking away," "depriving," "warding off," or the like, the objects being "taken away," "warded off," etc. intrinsically and essentially appertaining to their "possessor" of the Latin example quoted above involving the verb *adimere*. It is appropriate to add at this juncture that in languages in which an identity between the attributive and the predicative possessional construction applies optionally (i.e. conditionally)—the constructions are identical only if the possessum belong to a semantic field included in the language concerned in the "inalienable" category.

What consequently singles Sanskrit out of the rest of ancient Indo-European is the fact that the existence of a sympathetic dative in nominal syntax cannot be assessed for it, and that for that matter, it has no possessive dative at all, apart from predicative possessive constructions, the class of 'genitives used instead of, or in the sense of, datives' concerns what would be, in another language, a sympathetic and no other dative. Whether this cogently necessitates a re-identification (as advocated by Haudry) of the pronominal forms *me* and *te*, which Havers had presented as (sympathetic) datives, as genitive forms (in spite of considerable inconvenience on the comparative level, since *me*, *te* correspond to GK *moi*, *toi* as \**mm*, \**toit*), we shall discuss below in the context of the examination of the diachronic questions involved. On the other hand, we have still to enquire whether the situation as sketched is tantamount to there being no distinction whatsoever in Sanskrit between marked inalienable and unmarked 'possession'.

This does not seem to be the case. If we try to assess the Indo-European situation in this respect on the grounds of our findings for Homeric Greek, the significant difference observed in that form of language between the expression for the two types of possession in the domain of the 1st and 2nd person (e.g. clitic or tonic *moi* vs. clitic or tonic genitival *meu* with adjectival *emós* 'as neutral term') apparently corresponds in Indic to an opposition between the clitics *me*, *te* and the tonic *mama*, *tawa*, and their plural pendants, respectively, as UNMARKED terms on the one hand, and the MARKED compound-initial components *mad-*, *twad-* etc. on the other hand. A scrutiny of the lexical inventory reveals that the latter, unless used in the wedawid type (e.g. *twānit* 'having you') or in exocentric possessive compounds (such as *twadutas* 'having you for a messenger', *matkṛtam* 'what I have done', *twavatam* 'what you have presented') strongly tend to combine, or combine only, with nominal expressions of the "inalienable" class; thus:

the body (or personality) or its parts or constituents *maddehas*, *madb'āwas*;

physical or mental actions *madwacanam*, *madart'as*, *yusmadart'am*;

kinship terms, social or other human relations *madwargiyas*, *matsak'is*, \**twatputras* 'your son' (reconstructable from *twatputrās*, 'a group of persons connected with your son'),

personally owned objects *twadgrham*;

relative positions *matsantaṣam*;

acts relative to which the pronominal component denotes the

recipient *matṣamdeśay* the fact of indicating me *tvadbhāyam* fear of you *macchitas* one thinking (or having thought) of me

Having thus increased the likelihood of an assumption of the existence of a feature of "appurtenance" in the semantic structure of Sanskrit, we can easily introduce a rather essential division in the class of *genitive pro dative*—a those used instead of a dative used in other languages—by those used instead of a dative with which they vary freely INSIDE Sanskrit. Grammatically, there is a cleavage difference between the two: the syntactic environment in which (a) occurs can be described by means of a class of SUBSTANTIVES (the relative nouns with reference to which appurtenance is valid) while a statement for the environment of (b) can only be made in terms of a list of VERBS. As it has become clear that the first-named class is related to appurtenance, we shall now look into the other one, verbs thus construed more frequently than not trivalential are, *inter alia* compounds of *dadāti*, *vaccati* grant *khyāti*, *katvayati*, *mayati*, *darsayati*, compounds of *desayati*, *kupyati*. None of these involves or creates any relation of inseparability or appurtenance.

It might be considered commonplace that a situation of free variation prevails in a transitory period between two stages of development. In our case, we have to enquire whether the dative involved in the situation of variation is the residue of an earlier *état de langue* or the first step of a new situation. Every author considering the genitive mentions in this context the gradual disappearance of the dative from classical language and its total replacement already in the earlier Prakrits by the genitive—a fact which is thought to explain the already classical use of the genitive for the dative, which is to be expected taking into account the rest of Indo-European. If one adds to this the probable existence of a categorical distinction between the inalienable and all other possession, one must bear in mind that the variation described pertains with relation to the unmarked term of that opposition and must consequently in all likelihood be considered to be the incipient stage of a development which replaces an older means of expression (i.e. the dative) no longer used in marked environments by a new one which has taken over. Our assumption is consequently that in an earlier stage Sanskrit had had like all other ancient Indo-European languages a possessive dative. Also considering that pronominal case syntax (and for that matter, also case-inflection), one may safely assume that older means of expression has disappeared from substantival use earlier than from pronominal one, the latter having preserved the possessive dative longer than the former, this preservation has been more stable in a marked term (in our case appurtenance), so that



the formal element of the earlier stage is recognizable only in that category while the new form, the genitive, took over as the marked term and subsequently encroached (starting from the 'sympathetic' environment in which its use was obligatory) upon the area earlier typically reserved for datives, with which it began to vary freely. In other words, the possessive dative, a real 'sympatheticus' persists in personal pronouns, while it is no longer attested historically for other nominal entities. We may hereby find the justification for upholding the identification of *me, te* as datives according to Havers. In comparison with the rest of Indo-European, even with some living languages, Sanskrit, while showing in principle the same syntactic phenomena as the former, appears to find itself in a more 'advanced' stage of development in the area of the expression of possessional and appurtenantial relations than the other languages. It may not be absurd to conjecture that non-Indo-European languages spoken in the Indian area may have witnessed such an evolution.

### Notes

- 1) Citing Panini's (II 3.62) in this context.
- 2) His italics.
- 3) In Revue de l'Inde, at least, a basic stem perfect *dāna* functions suppletively with respect to the causative formation *dānyat*, but neither expresses yet a naturally possessive notion.
- 4) *Lingua* 8 (1959) 285 (= *Strukturalgrammatische Beiträge zum Verständnis Homers* [Amsterdam 1968, München 1984] 33; East and West, Selected Writings in Linguistics 1-346).
- 5) In the function of Lat. *pater est*.
- 6) Cf. my study cited in note 4 *passim*.
- 7) Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax* 96ff. Haudry, *L'emploi des cas en védique* 59.
- 8) Delbrück, *Ai. Syntax* 162.
- 9) Speyer, *Id.*
- 10) 'Ich nenne den mit dem Genitiv im Austausch stehenden Dativ Dativus sympatheticus im Anschluß an die Bemerkung von Gildersleeve zu Pindar *Pyth.* III 46 *anthropousin saythar novous anthropousin* sympathetic than *anthropon* (Havers, *o.c.* 2).
- 11) Havers, *o.c.* 44.

- "') *Lingua* 8 (1959) 279 (= *Strukturalgrammatische Beiträge zum Verständnis Homers* | Amsterdam 1968 München 1984) 27, East and West: Selected Writings in Linguistics I (340)
- "') Havers's "Kategorie IV" o.c. 41
- "') Above, p. 35
- "') Above, p. \*\*\*
- "') *Lingua* 8 (1959) 285 (= *Strukturalgrammatische Beiträge zum Verständnis Homers* | Amsterdam 1968 München 1984) 33 East and West: Selected Writings in Linguistics I (346)
- "') O.c. 69f. "Cette observation engage a refuser l'interprétation que donne Havers des formes *me* et *te* comme d'anciens datifs" (cf. also o.c. 75)
- "') The equivalent of which is "almost never" used in Sanskrit [Delbrück o.c. (note 8) 151] — I feel tempted to append here a caption added to a humorous sketch in a German newspaper. The drawing showed a lady washing her wig over a washbasin: she says: *Ich kann noch nicht kommen, ich muß noch meine Haare waschen*. — The use of the possessive adjective clearly indicates that it is her "vulnerable" hair she is washing: if her own hair were concerned, the use of the sympathetic dative would have been compulsory, *ich muß mir noch die Haare waschen*. — One of those jokes that cannot be translated.
- "') I transcribe \* by what is traditionally written *ky*. The reasons behind this and the rest of the orthographical idiosyncrasies of a more obvious character apparent in the present article are set out in a study due to appear in the *Journal of Indo-European Studies*.
- "') Speyer o.c. 99f. — the author tends to consider the genitive as a stylistic variant of the dative.

# Le grec mycénien

## Sur les mots comportant la racine *ar-*

C. J. Ruijgh

Dans la transcription, les mots grecs *a* et *o* représentent les voyelles longues fermées qui, à partir de l'époque classique sont notées par *ᾱ* et *οῖα* et *οῦρα* et *οῦρα* par conséquent *ai* et *oi* ne représentent que les diphtongues originelles. La lettre *a* répond à la valeur de *aa* pour le mycénien, mais à celle de *ai* pour l'usage attique classique. Les tirets *eb* qui suivent servent à marquer l'interprétation phonologique de la graphie mycénienne (voir la transcription précédente).

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B Les mots grecs comportant la racine *ar-* § 6 Les formes du verbe *ar-*, l'emploi sémantique de *ar-* § 7 *a-ra-ru-wo-a*, *arērōs* le participe parfait en *-os* - § 8 *a-ra-ru-ja*, *araruta*, *a-ni-ja*, *honta* - § 9 *a-me-no*, *Armenos armēna* § 10 *a-mo* roue à rayons *harmuta* 'char' - § 11 L'explication du suffixe *-mo* doublet de *-ma* - § 12 *a-mo-te-wo*, *a-mo-te-wi-ja*, *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* type *k'alk-eon* - *a-mo-la-jo*, - § 13 *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*, *a-na-mo-to*, *harmotto* - § 14 *harmos* *a-mo-te-re*, *harmostēr*, *a-mo-ke-re(-we)*, *Harmokudes* - § 15 *harmos* les noms *mō smō* § 16 Le problème phonétique que pose *harmos* issu de \**arśmās* § 17 Les origines du suffixe *-smo* § 18 *ka-ka-re-a*, *k'alkērēs* - § 19 L'accentuation des composés en *-ēv*, *e-u-wa-re*, *Euērēs* - § 20 *a-to-mo*, *arēmōs*, le suffixe verbal *-r* *-er-* - § 21 *a-to-po-qo-*, *artokōpōs*, *artos* etc - § 22 *a-ri-to* *aristos* *a-ro-za-re-ion*, le comparatif en *-vos* - § 23 *ari-*, *a-ri-we-we*, *a-ri-wo*, *a-ri-ja-wu*; *eri-*, *e-ri-ke-re-we* etc, *eus*, *ara* § 24 *areā* *a-re-ta-wo* - § 25 *Arēōsa* *a-re-to-to*; *arēkō* *a-re-ta* - § 26 Conclusion

§ 1 C'est avec plaisir que nous avons accepté d'écrire un article sur le grec mycénien pour honorer la mémoire du professeur Irach J. S. Taraporewala, organisateur du Department of Comparative Philology de l'université de Calcutta. À côté du sanskrit, le grec a toujours joué un rôle cardinal dans la grammaire comparée des le début des



études indo-européennes pour lesquelles le *Rgveda* et l'épopée homérique étaient les plus anciens textes conservés. Au premier quart de notre siècle le déchiffrement du hittite cunéiforme a fait connaître une nouvelle langue indo-européenne dont les textes les plus anciens datent du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Grâce au déchiffrement de l'écriture linéaire B par M. Ventris en 1952, on connaît maintenant des textes grecs qui datent également du second millénaire av. J.-C. à savoir du XIV<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui sont donc antérieurs à l'épopée homérique d'environ cinq siècles. Désormais le linguiste peut suivre l'histoire de la langue grecque à travers trente-quatre siècles, du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à l'époque actuelle.

Les textes en linéaire B appartiennent à la comptabilité des palais mycéniens, qui constituaient les centres de la civilisation mycénienne. C'est pourquoi on désigne le dialecte grec de ces textes par le terme de mycénien. La plupart d'eux figurent sur des tablettes en argile, qui ont été trouvées en Grèce dans les complexes palatiaux de Mycènes, de Pylos, de Thèbes et de Tirynthe et aussi en Crète dans celui de Cnossos. L'écriture linéaire B est une forme adaptée de l'écriture linéaire A, employée en Crète par les Minoens dès la première moitié du second millénaire. Il est probable qu'au début de l'époque mycénienne, donc au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., les administrateurs des palais mycéniens l'ont empruntée aux Minoens, peuple crétois dont la langue n'était sans doute pas indo-européenne. Comme le linéaire B ne s'employait que dans l'administration palatiale, on comprend qu'il n'ait pas pu survivre à la destruction des palais mycéniens vers 1200 av. J.-C. Quelques siècles plus tard, les Grecs ont emprunté l'écriture alphabétique aux Phéniciens.

§ 2. L'écriture linéaire B est syllabique. Chaque signe est un syllabogramme qui répond en principe à une syllabe ouverte constituée d'une seule consonne et d'une voyelle. Bien entendu, il y a des signes pour les syllabes a, e, i, o, u (sans consonne initiale) qui peuvent constituer le début d'un mot, exemple *e-pi* *epi* 'aupres de' mot dont la graphie comporte donc deux syllabogrammes. L'écriture n'exprime pas la quantité vocalique, exemple *do-ke* *doké*, 'il livra' vis-à-vis de *de-do-me-na* *dedomena* 'livre' (nom pluriel). Elle n'exprime pas la distinction entre les liquides *r* et *l*, exemple *pe-di-ra* *pedira*, 'sandales' vis-à-vis de *do-ra* *dora* 'dons'. Sauf dans le cas de *d* (*do-ra*), elle n'exprime pas la distinction entre les consonnes sonores et les sourdes, exemple *a-ko-ra* *agora* 'collection' vis-à-vis de *ko-ru* *koru* 'casque'. De même elle ne distingue pas les consonnes aspirées des consonnes non aspirées, exemple *pe-re* *perer* 'il porte' vis-à-vis de *pe-da* *poda* 'vers'. Elle ne distingue pas non plus 'h + voyelle' de 'voyelle sans consonne'.

précédente, exemple **o-te** *hôte* 'lorsque vis à vis de **o-no** *onas* 'ane. Elle exprime toujours le son de transition y ou w qui se développe automatiquement entre la voyelle i ou u et une autre voyelle, exemple **ri-jo** *R'ion* 'promontoire (toponyme), **ku-wa-no** *kuanas* 'email bleu foncé. Les diphtongues à second élément u sont notées à l'aide du syllabogramme u; exemple **a-ro-u-ra** *larourai* 'terre arable. Celles à second élément i, en revanche, ne sont que rarement notées à l'aide du signe i: le plus souvent, le segment en question fait défaut dans la graphie, exemple **po-me** *poumen* 'berger'.

Comme le syllabaire ne comporte en principe que des signes pour des syllabes ouvertes commençant par une seule consonne, l'écriture ne peut pas exprimer les consonnes finales et les consonnes suivies d'une consonne d'une manière univoque. Elle omet simplement les consonnes finales, c'est-à-dire *x n r*, le grec ayant perdu les occlusives finales, exemples **ko-ru** *korus* **ri-jo** *R'ion* **pa-te** *patēr* 'père. Elle omet également le premier segment d'un groupe gemine (type *pp pp'*), exemple **po-pi** *popp'it* 'avec les pieds (instr. plur. de *pod*)'. Abstraction faite de ce cas, les occlusives suivies d'une consonne sont presque toujours notées par le syllabogramme répondant à la voyelle qui précède le groupe de consonnes, exemples **ti-ri-si** *trist* 'pour trois', **a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo** *Alektruon* 'coq (anthroponyme)'. Comme la voyelle notée par le syllabogramme ne se prononce pas dans cet emploi, on la désigne par le terme de *voyelle morte*. La sifflante est le plus souvent omise devant une occlusive, mais notée à l'aide d'une voyelle morte devant une consonne sonante (*m w*), exemples **wa-tu** *watu* 'ville', **de-so-mo** *desmos* 'lien'. Les nasales sont omises devant une obstruante mais notées devant une consonne sonante, exemples **pa-te** *pantes* 'tous', **pa-si** *pansu* 'pout tous', **de-mi-ni-ja** *dennia* 'lits'. Les liquides sont le plus souvent omises devant consonne (sauf devant *y*), exemples **to-pe-te** *torpeza* 'table', **pe-ma** *sperma* 'semence', **ko-wo** *korwau* 'garçon'. La semi-voyelle *w* s'exprime toujours devant consonne (*wr* initial), exemple **wi-ri-no** *wrinós* 'peau de bœuf'.

Devant *w* la voyelle morte est plus souvent *u*, voyelle homorgane de la semi-voyelle *w*, que la voyelle répondant à la voyelle qui suit *w*; ainsi, *kremnos* 'appartenant aux hôtes' s'écrit tantôt **ke-se-nu-wi-jo** tantôt **ke-se-ni-wi-jo**. Devant *y*, la voyelle morte est obligatoirement *i*; ainsi le theonyme *Dikya* (orig. 'épouse de Zeus') s'écrit **di-wi-ja**, non pas **di-wa-ja**. Dans le cas du groupe final occlusive + *s*, l'occlusive est exprimée par le syllabogramme répondant à la voyelle précédente, exemple **wa-na-ka** *wanaks* 'toi'.

À côté des syllabogrammes primaires dont nous venons de parler,

le syllabaire comporte un petit nombre de syllabogrammes secondaires. D'une part, il y a quelques signes dont la valeur est plus spécifique que celle du signe primaire correspondant. Ainsi on trouve pour le mot *elawon* 'huile' tant la graphie *e-ra-wo* que la graphie *e-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo*, qui comporte le signe *ra<sub>2</sub>* doublet du signe *ra*. La valeur spécifique du signe *ra<sub>2</sub>* consiste à exprimer explicitement la diphtongue *ai* de la syllabe *rai* ou *lai*. De même, le signe *a<sub>2</sub>* exprime explicitement cette diphtongue : exemple *a<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>* *asa* 'portion loi'. Le signe *a<sub>1</sub>* exprime *ha* : exemple *a<sub>1</sub>-te-ro* *hateros* 'l'un des deux'. Le signe *pu<sub>1</sub>* exprime *p'u* ou *bu* à l'exclusion de *ph* : exemple *pu<sub>1</sub>-te-re* *p'tieros* 'planteurs'. D'autre part, il y a quelques syllabogrammes à valeur complexe constituée de deux consonnes et d'une voyelle. Ainsi on trouve pour le mot *ptelewa* 'orme' tant la graphie *pe-te-re-wa* que *pte-re-wa*. Abstraction faite du signe *pte*, les syllabogrammes de cette catégorie ont la valeur 'consonne + semi-voyelle (y ou w) + voyelle' : *dwo*, *ryo* (transcription *ro*), *lya* (transcription *la*) etc.

§ 3. La découverte du grec mycénien permet souvent de vérifier des reconstructions faites dans le cadre de la grammaire comparée des dialectes grecs et des langues indo-européennes. Le plus souvent, les faits mycéniens prouvent que les reconstructions généralement admises sont correctes. Cela montre que la théorie et les méthodes de la linguistique diachronique sont essentiellement correctes. D'après la théorie, qui remonte aux néo-grammairiens du dernier quart du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les changements linguistiques appartiennent à trois catégories : celle des changements phonétiques, celle des actions analogiques et celle des emprunts. Voici quelques exemples mycéniens.

Avant le déchiffrement du linéaire B, on expliquait le mot homérique *heanos* 'vetement' comme aboutissement phonétique de *\*wehanos* : *\*wesanos* (nom dérivé de la racine *wes-* 'vetir' (skr. *vāste* 'il s'habille' lat. *vestis* 'vetement' etc.). La graphie mycénienne *we-a-no* exprime la forme *wehanos* si bien que désormais, il faut omettre l'asterisque devant cette forme. Le changement intervocalique *v > h* est donc un fait accompli en mycénien, mais la disparition de *h* intervocalique lui est postérieure. Le mycénien maintient la consonne *w* dans toutes les positions. On expliquait le mot homérique *akme* 'pointe d'une lance' à partir de *\*ak sma* < *\*ak<sub>1</sub>sma* (forme maintenant attestée par la graphie mycénienne *a-ka-sa-ma*). Il apparaît qu'en mycénien *s* était encore intact entre deux consonnes. — On expliquait le suffixe *-eo-* des adjectifs de matière du type attique *k'alkos* 'en bronze' ou *-eo-* à partir de *\*-eyo-* à cause de skr. *-aya-* (*hiranyāva-* 'en or'). Le mycénien présente effectivement le *y* intervocalique dans des formes comme *wi-ri-ne-jo* *wrinewos* 'en cuir'. D'autre part, on trouve aussi des formes comme *wi-ri-ne-o* *wrinetos* ce qui montre





qu'à l'époque des tablettes, y intervocalique était déjà en train de changer en h. Après consonne sonante, y était encore entièrement intact, ainsi *ku-pa-ro*; *kuparwos* 'souchet' n'avait pas encore abouti à *kupatros* (forme dorienne). Puis les labiovélares étaient encore intacts en mycénien, exemples : —*qe* < e et < att. *te* enclitique lat. -que, skr. *cat*), *qo-o* < *ons* 'boeufs' (acc. plur., et acc. sing. *bon* forme homérique parallèle à skr. *gam*)'.

De même, les données morphologiques mycénienes confirment le plus souvent les reconstructions de la grammaire comparée. Ainsi, le mycénien conserve encore l'instrumental comme cas distinct du datif-locatif, du moins au pluriel de la flexion athématique. Il s'agit de formes comme *po-pi* *pop pi* 'avec les pieds' (skr. *pad-bhñh*). Dans le cadre du langage artificiel de la tradition épique, Homère utilise encore des formes en *-pi* mais purement pour des raisons métriques. Le caractère artificiel de son usage de *-pi* est évident : la forme en *-pi* équivaut tantôt au datif tantôt au génitif, non seulement au pluriel mais aussi au singulier (R. 1979 a : 80-82). Tandis qu'au premier millénaire, la désinence du datif singulier est toujours *-i* après consonne, le mycénien présente plus souvent le type *ka-ke-we* *kalk-wi* pour le forgeron que le type *ka-ke-wi* *k'alkwi*. La valeur des deux désinences *-wi* et *-i* est identique : elles expriment tant celle du datif original que celle du locatif (syncretisme des deux cas : le proto-indo-européen employait *-ey* (skr. *-e*) pour le datif, *-i* pour le locatif).

Bien entendu, il arrive que les données mycénienes obligent à abandonner telle reconstruction. Ainsi, on a souvent expliqué la préposition *heneka* (avec le génitif) dans le but de 'en vue de' à partir d'un juxtaposé \**en weka* pour la volonté de, ou \**weka* serait l'accusatif d'un nom racine \**wek* (cf. l'ancien participe *wikón* qui agit volontairement : skr. *vasmi* 'je souhaite'). Dans ce cadre, on voyait dans *heneka* chez Homère l'aboutissement phonétique de \**enweka*. Or, la graphie mycénienne *e-ne-ka* prouve que *eneka* n'a jamais comporté de groupe *nw*. Désormais, il faut expliquer *eneka* comme adverbe en *-a* = \*-*ñ* (type *oka* 'vite', R. 1980) dérivé de la racine *enek* = \**hnek*- 'porter jusqu'au bout' (cf. *podnekev* qui atteint les pieds, qui va jusqu'aux pieds : skr. *nasati* 'il atteint'). Dans la forme homérique *hénka* la voyelle longue est donc due à un allongement métrique. Désormais, on comprend pourquoi la forme à voyelle brève se rencontre elle aussi fréquemment chez Homère.

§ 4. Les exemples donnés ci-dessus montrent que le mycénien est intermédiaire entre le grec du premier millénaire av. J.-C. et le proto-indo-européen. Faisons-nous d'ajouter, cependant, que le mycé-

nien est beaucoup plus proche du grec postérieur que du proto-indo-européen reconstruit. La plupart des traits caractéristiques du grec sont déjà présents dans la langue des tablettes. Ainsi le changement *s* → *h* (*s* initial devant voyelle, *s* intervocalique, groupes *\*s* + sonante et sonante non liquide + *s*) est déjà un fait accompli en mycénien : exemples *e-ke* *hek-er* 'il a (skr) sauté' (il vainc, il résiste) *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no* *welamaw* 'vêtement' (§ 3) *to-ja* *to<sub>2</sub>* 'de celui-là' = *\*tosyo* (skr *tasya*). De même le traitement *a* des nasales syllabiques : exemples *a-ki-ti-to* *aktitaw* 'non cultivé' (*\*p<sub>2</sub>*; lat *in*-; skr *u*-) *a-te-ra* *hateraw* 'l'un des deux' (*\*sp<sub>2</sub>*; cf. lat *semel* 'une fois'). La désinence du datif locatif pluriel des thèmes en consonne est déjà *-u* (forme substituée à *-su* (skr *loc* plur *-su*) sous l'influence de la désinence *i* du locatif singulier : exemple *ti-ri-si* *trist* 'pour trois'. En outre, la fusion du datif et du locatif est déjà un fait accompli : les formes en *-u* représentent non seulement la valeur du locatif mais aussi celle du datif, de même qu'au singulier, *-e* et *i* représentent les deux valeurs (§ 3). — La terminaison du nom plur. masc. fem. des thèmes en *-a* était originellement *\*-as* = *-a-es*, celle des thèmes en *-a* était *\*-as* = *\*-eh-es*. Le grec a substitué la terminaison pronominale *-a* à *\*-as*, puis *-u* à *\*-as* (R. 1979a : 74). Or l'emploi du signe *ra<sub>1</sub>* (§ 2) dans une graphie comme *di-p<sub>2</sub>e-ra<sub>1</sub>* *alp<sub>2</sub> t<sub>2</sub>eraw* 'peaux préparées' montre que ces substitutions sont déjà des faits accomplis en mycénien. — Une forme comme *-de-ka-sa-to* *deksato* 'il a reçu' prouve que la substitution de *sa* à *s* comme morphème de l'aoriste sigmatique est antérieure à l'époque des tablettes.

En outre, le vocabulaire du mycénien est tout proche de celui du grec postérieur. Ainsi, le nom *du-mo* *damos* 'issue de *\*dohamos-s* section (cf. skr *dā-ti* 'il coupe') a déjà le sens spécifique de 'territoire d'une communauté' ou 'communauté d'un territoire' 'peuple'. Les emprunts préhelléniques, qui ont donné au vocabulaire grec sa physionomie caractéristique, sont déjà présents en mycénien : exemples *a-sa-mi-to* *asamint<sub>2</sub>os* 'baignoire' *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to* *daburint<sub>2</sub>os* = *laburint<sub>2</sub>os* 'nom du grand palais de Crésos' *se-ri-no* *selmon* 'celeri', *wa-na-ka* *wanak<sub>2</sub>* (titre du roi et de certains dieux), *qa-si-re-u* *g<sub>2</sub>asileus* 'chef suprême', 'prince' (plus tard *basileus* 'roi'). Tandis que certains suffixes préhelléniques, par exemple *-nt<sub>2</sub>* dans le type *asamint<sub>2</sub>os*, ne se trouvent que dans des noms préhelléniques, d'autres s'ajoutent également à des thèmes d'origine indo-européenne, par exemple *-eu-* d'après *ke-ra-me-u* *kerameus* 'potier' dérivé du nom préhellénique *keramos* 'terre à potier', le grec a créé des noms comme *i-je-re-u* *iherews* 'prêtre'.

Il importe d'observer que le mycénien ne représente pas le proto-grec, c'est à dire la phase préhistorique du grec qu'on reconstruit

en se fondant sur la grammaire comparée des dialectes grecs dans le cadre indo-européen. En effet, le mycénien présente déjà les traits caractéristiques du dialecte proto-achéen, ancêtre de l'arcadien et du chypriote. Il s'agit d'une part de l'assibilation du type  $-n > -s$  et d'autre part du vocalisme  $o$  dans le traitement du type  $\xi > ro$  (à l'intérieur du mot)  $-or$  (en fin de mot) pour les liquides syllabiques, exemples  $pa-si$  *pas*, il dit  $qe-to-ro-po-pi$  *k etropop pi* 'avec les quadrupèdes (instr. plur. de *k etropod*  $*k^w etg-$ ). Cela invite à conclure qu'à l'époque des tablettes, la différenciation dialectale était déjà un fait accompli : distinction entre le proto-ionien ( $si-ro$ ) ancêtre des parlers ioniens et de l'attique, le proto-achéen ( $si-ro$ ), ancêtre de l'arcadien et du chypriote, le proto-éolien ( $n-ro$ ) ancêtre du thessalien, du lesbien et du béotien, et le proto-dorien  $-ro-$  ancêtre du lesbien et du béotien, et le proto-éolien ( $n-ro$ ) ancêtre des parlers occidentaux.

§ 5. On ne voit pas que le mycénien soit beaucoup plus proche du grec du premier millénaire que du proto-indo-européen. En effet, le début de la différenciation dialectale du grec en Grèce peut être situé vers le début de l'époque mycénienne, c'est-à-dire vers 1600 av. J.-C. La différenciation entre le proto-grec et le proto-indo-iranien (eti), en revanche, ne peut guère être postérieure au milieu du troisième millénaire. Elle est évidemment antérieure à l'entrée des Proto-grecs en Grèce, qu'on peut situer vers le début du second millénaire.

On constate que le dialecte artificiel de l'épopée homérique comporte plusieurs éléments mycéniens, tels que les formes en  $pi$  (§ 3) et des mots comme *asamirios* 'baignoire' (*asamaks*) 'roi' (§ 4). Cela s'explique dans le cadre du style oral-formulaire et traditionnel de l'épopée grecque. Il est probable que la tradition épique des Grecs a commencé au début de l'époque mycénienne (XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle) dans les centres de la civilisation mycénienne (R. 1985b). Après la destruction des centres mycéniens, notamment ceux du Péloponnèse, vers 1200 av. J.-C., les Éoliens ont continué la tradition épique dans le Nord de la Grèce, ensuite, à partir du début du premier millénaire, dans les colonies éoliennes en Asie Mineure. C'est en Asie Mineure que les Ioniens orientaux ont emprunté la tradition épique à leurs voisins éoliens, peut-être au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ainsi, on peut rendre compte du fait que le dialecte homérique, tout en se rattachant en principe à l'ionien oriental, comporte des éléments éoliens plus anciens et des éléments mycéniens (acheens) encore plus anciens.

Nous espérons que l'esquisse générale du mycénien que nous venons de présenter suffira à montrer l'intérêt des études mycéniennes pour la grammaire historique du grec et la grammaire comparée des



langues indo-européennes. En effet, les textes mycéniens nous offrent le niveau synchronique d'un dialecte grec d'environ 1400-1200 av. J.-C., par rapport auquel on peut préciser la chronologie relative des changements phonétiques, des actions analogiques et des emprunts qui ont eu lieu après la période préhistorique du proto-indo-européen et qui ont produit la langue grecque.

Malheureusement, les textes retrouvés de la comptabilité palatiale mycénienne sont peu nombreux et l'orthographe du linéaire B rend le grec d'une façon assez imparfaite (§ 2). En outre, le style est fort concis : il s'agit en principe de listes de personnel, de bétail, de produits, parfois avec la mention de leur provenance ou de leur destination. En principe, chaque mention se termine par un chiffre précédé d'un idéogramme, c'est-à-dire d'un dessin fort simplifié de ce qui est comté : type *pu-ro VIR 2* (PY An 35.2) 'à Pilos (Pilos) 2 hommes'. On se sert de mots latins écrits en majuscules pour transcrire les idéogrammes. Dans ce genre de textes, les phrases complètes et par conséquent les verbes sont assez rares. C'est pour quoi nous restons souvent sur notre soif en ce qui concerne les détails de la phonologie, de la morphologie, de la syntaxe et du vocabulaire du grec mycénien.

§ 6. Pour illustrer l'importance des données mycéniennes, nous avons choisi les mots mycéniens qui comportent la racine *ar-* \**h<sub>2</sub>er-*. Chez Homère, le verbe primaire est encore bien attesté, tandis que le grec postérieur l'a remplacé par des verbes dérivés, notamment par *harmotto/harmozo* (§ 13). Voici les formes du verbe primaire : le présent *ar-ar-aka*, l'aoriste thématique à redoublement *ér-ar-a-n* avec comme doublet l'aoriste sigmatique *er-s-a* l'aoriste passif *ér-er-en* et le vieux parfait radical à desinences actives mais à valeur passive *ar-ér-a'*. Dans son emploi le plus ancien, le verbe transitif semble avoir désigné l'action d'ajuster une chose, de la mettre en état d'être jointe à une autre chose ou en état de fonctionner bien (anglais *to make fitting, to make fit*). Puis, il désigne l'action de construire une chose complexe en ajustant et en joignant les pièces les unes aux autres (construction d'un navire, etc.). Enfin, il désigne l'action de munir une chose de choses ajustées et nécessaires à un bon fonctionnement (anglais *to fit with* : équipement d'un navire, etc.).

Homère emploie aussi le participe *armenos* 'ajusté'. Le plus souvent, on y voit un aoriste radical athématique à valeur passive *ár-menos* < \**h<sub>2</sub>g-* comme *kt-a-menos* 'tué' < \**tkg-*. À notre avis, *ármenos* exprime plutôt l'état d'être ajusté, si bien qu'il vaut mieux y voir un présent radical athématique moyen exprimant l'état *ár-menos* < \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* comme *kei-menos* de *kei mar* 'je suis couché' (skr

sete < \*kév-toy il est couche > Par une extension de cette valeur statique (être juste anglais *to be fitting*), on arrive au sens d'être préparé être en état de fonctionner bien 'être bon' (anglais *to be fit, to be good*), qu'on trouve dans des formes d'adjectifs tels que le superlatif *aristos* le meilleur.

Au point de vue syntaxique, il faut signaler la construction de *ar* avec le datif (emploi instrumental). Voici un exemple de cette construction pour le verbe transitif. Od. 2.353 *pōmasti arvon hapantas* munis toutes (les amphores) de couvercles. Noter que cette expression presuppose que les couvercles sont ajustés aux amphores, qu'ils leur conviennent.

§ 7. Les textes mycéniens fournissent deux formes du participe parfait à valeur passive de *ar*. D'une part on trouve l'expression *pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a de-so-mo* *p'avgana ararwoha* des chars munis de bandes (tKN Ra 1548, etc.). Il s'agit sans doute de bandes de cuir servant de baudrier. Comparer l'expression homérique Il. 11.30-31 *koleon antirressin arerōs* gaine (d'une épée) munie de courroies de baudrier. D'après les règles orthographiques (§ 2) on attendrait la graphie \**a-ra-wo-a*. L'expression graphique de la liquide *r* devant *w* à l'aide de la voyelle morte *u* s'explique probablement par une raison morphologique, à savoir le desir d'exprimer explicitement le redoublement de parfait. La forme *ararwoha* répond à la forme plus récente *arērōta* chez Homère. Dans le cadre de la tradition épique, la forme homérique peut bien recouvrir la forme mycénienne qui a la même structure métrique. L'élément *arar* peut s'expliquer à partir de \**h<sub>2</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>g-* (cf. n. 9) comparer le type *hebaōs* 'avant les pieds fixés sur le sol', issu de \**g<sup>h</sup>e-g<sup>h</sup>ē-wōs*, où le redoublement comporte le vocalisme *e* devant le degré zéro de la racine. Sous ce rapport, il faut observer qu'Homère conserve la voyelle brève dans la seconde syllabe de la forme féminine *ararui* (*ua-* \**ar-ua*). Comparer *twiduiā* féminin de \**widwōs* forme mycénienne que recouvre la forme ionienne plus récente *eidos* sachant chez Homère. En mycénien, \**widwōs* est indirectement attesté par l'anthroponyme *Widwohuos* (graphies *wi-dwo-i-jo*, *wi-du-wo-i-jo*, *wi-do-wo-i-jo*), qui s'identifie à l'adjectif patronymique en *-io-* dérivé de l'anthroponyme non attesté \**Widwōs* (R. 1967-207). La voyelle longue de la seconde syllabe de *arērōs* dorien *ararōs* est due à l'influence des formes du singulier de l'indicatif. Ite p *arera* dor *arāra* comme *hebeka* dor *hebaka* avec *hā* < \**-g<sup>h</sup>oh-* vis-à-vis de *hebaōs*.

On constate que le mycénien conserve encore la forme *-woh* < *-wos* (devant voyelle) du morphème du participe parfait. La consonne *h*

est explicitement exprimée dans la graphie *te-tu-ko-wo-a<sub>2</sub>* (à côté de *te-tu-ko-wo-a*) *te-tu-ko-wo-a* 'fabrique' 'achève' (nom plur ntr) du verbe *teuk'o* 'teuk'o' 'je fabrique'. Le grec postérieur, en revanche, n'emploie plus de telles formes, devenues trop opaques au point de vue morphologique en conséquence de la chute de *h* intervocalique et des contractions (\**woh a-* > \**twia-* etc.). C'est pourquoi il insère la consonne *t* entre \**twia-* et la voyelle (initiale) de la desinence casuelle : type *leloipota* 'avant qu'ilte' vis-à-vis de nom sing *leloipós* (nase) *leloipos* (ntr). Le modèle était fourni par la flexion des participes de thèmes thématiques : type aoriste *liponta* vis-à-vis de nom. sing *lipón* *lipón'*.

§ 8. D'autre part, on trouve l'expression *i-qi-ja*, *a-ra-ru-ja* *a-ni-ja-pi* (*ikk-ra* *araruta* *an-tpi* 'chat' 'muni de renes' (KN Sd 4305 etc.) qui comporte la forme féminine du participe (§ 7). Elle est construite avec l'instrumental en *-pi* (§ 3) cas dont la valeur est exprimée plus tard par la forme du datif-locatif. La finale *-ra-ru-ja* comporte le degré zéro du morphème *wes* *wos-*. Originellement, il doit y avoir eu une alternance \**-wes-ih<sub>2</sub>* (nom et acc. sing.), \**us-yeh<sub>2</sub>* (gen. sing. etc.). La forme *twia-ru-* \**wes-ru-*, issue de \**wes-ih<sub>2</sub>*, survit dans quelques parlers dorien : ainsi, on trouve à Héraclée la forme *er'egeta* 'déchirée' issue de \**we-wr'h<sub>2</sub>g-wes-ih<sub>2</sub>*. Le mycénien, cependant, semble déjà avoir substitué *-ua* à \**-wenta*.

Il est utile de discuter dès maintenant la forme mycénienne qui répond à attique *nemta* 'rene' (Homère *henion*). On peut admettre avec Frisk que la forme originelle était \**anua* : traitement phonétique *anua* > \**an-ia* > *hana* (R. 1967 : 60 ff.). Il importe d'observer que tant à Cnossos qu'à Pylos, on ne trouve que la graphie *a-ni-ja*. Cela prouve que le trait 'aspiré' ne s'était pas encore déplacé vers le segment initial, puisque pour *hana* on attendrait la graphie \**a<sub>2</sub>-ni-ja*, (§ 2).

§ 9. Enfin, le participe *armenos* est indirectement attesté par l'anthroponyme *a-me-no*, pour lequel l'interprétation *Armenos* est plausible. Comme nous l'avons signalé plus haut (§ 6), la forme homérique *armenos* 'ajusté' appartient plutôt au présent qu'à l'aoriste. Plus tard, on trouve l'emploi substantif du neutre pluriel *armena* pour désigner l'équipement matériel, par exemple celui d'un navire (agtes, provisions). Cette valeur s'explique à partir de la notion d'objets ajustés à une chose et nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de cette chose (anglais *the fittings*).

L'anthroponyme *Armenos* se retrouve au premier millénaire : comparer aussi *Araros*. Il se peut qu'il s'agisse d'un emploi métaphorique



de *ar-* pour referer au lien social ou aux liens d'amitié qui unissent les membres d'un groupe (cf. *ar'mós* § 20, *arassas'ai*, § 25). Dans cette hypothèse, *armenos* s'applique à un homme dont le comportement s'harmonise avec celui des autres membres du groupe social dont il fait partie et avec le bon fonctionnement de ce groupe social, c'est-à-dire à un homme convenable.

§ 10. Passons maintenant au nom neutre *a-mo-arm'o* 'roue à rayons', nom duel *a-mo-te* *arm'ote*, nom plur *a-mo-ta* *armo'ta*, dat. plur *a-mo-si* *arm'osi*. Le sens du nom est illustré par l'ideogramme qui le suit et qui est le dessin d'une roue à rayons (R. 1976 177, 179. R. 1879b 208, 215). La découverte de la valeur du mot mycénien, qui au point de vue morphologique répond à *harma* 'char' en grec postérieur, a surpris les linguistes. Avant le déchiffrement du linéaire B, on expliquait le sens de 'char' à partir de la notion d' 'objet produit par des ajustements et un assemblage', le char étant un ensemble complexe constitué de pièces ajustées et adaptées les uns aux autres. Désormais, en revanche, le sens de 'char' doit s'expliquer par synecdoque (*pars pro toto*) à partir de celui de 'roue à rayons', la paire de roues étant un élément fort essentiel au bon fonctionnement du char. Sous ce rapport, on comprend maintenant pourquoi Homère emploie le plus souvent le pluriel *harmata* qui peut recouvrir le duel *harmate*, pour désigner un seul char: c'est plutôt la paire de roues qu'une seule roue qui est essentielle au char. Comme le char est une voiture rapide, tirée par des chevaux, il a besoin de roues à la fois légères et solides, c'est-à-dire de deux roues à rayons (cf. *i-qi-ja* 'char', n. 15). Cette valeur spécifique de *arm'o* s'explique également bien à partir de la valeur de *ar-*: le nom désigne l'ensemble complexe et solide qui résulte de l'ajustement et de l'adaptation de pièces hétérogènes, à savoir la jante, les rayons et le moyeu. Il est probable qu'en mycénien, le nom générique de la roue était encore *kuklos*, mot qui n'est attesté qu'indirectement dans l'anthroponyme dérivé *ku-ke-re-u* *kukleus*: celui qui s'occupe de roues.

Le nom *harma* est l'aboutissement phonétique de *\*arm'o-s* *\*drhma*?, forme substituée à *\*arima* *\*h<sub>2</sub>ér-s-mq* (comparer *harmos* 'joint' *\*arhmos* forme substituée à *\*arshmós* (§ 16)). Ici encore, on constate que le déplacement de l'aspiration vers le segment initial est de date postmycénienne (cf. *a-ni-ja*, § 8). Tant les tablettes de Cnossos que celles de Pylos ne connaissent que la graphie *a-mo*. L'emploi du suffixe complexe *-ma* au lieu de *-ma* (type *peisma* 'corde' issue de *\*prent<sub>2</sub>ma* cf. skr. *badhnāmi* 'je lie') s'explique par l'influence de l'emploi beaucoup plus fréquent du suffixe *-mo-* au lieu de *-ma-* (§ 15, § 17).

En principe, les neutres en *-ma* désignent la chose qui est essentielle à l'action exprimée par le thème de base. Ainsi, le mycénien a *pe-ma* *sperma* 'semence' *hek'ma* 'support' (dat instr sing *e-ka-ma-le*, instr plur *e-ka-ma-pir*). Parfois le nom en *-ma* désigne la chose qui résulte de l'action, par exemple *derma* 'peau dépouillée d'un animal' (*deru* 'écorche') : nom peut être attesté en mycénien (dat plur *de-ma-si* *dermasi*). C'est pourquoi l'explication sémantique de *a-mo* 'roue à rayons' que nous venons de donner est légitime : il s'agit de la chose qui résulte de l'action d'ajuster et d'assembler.

§ 11. Le vocalisme *o* du suffixe de *a-mo* pose un problème (R 1979a 85-86). En général, le mycénien présente tantôt *a* tantôt *o* pour le segment final des thèmes neutres en *\*-ŋ*. Ainsi, on trouve *pe-mo* *spermo* à côté de *pe-ma* *sperma*, *a-re-po-zo-o* *aleip'ozohos* à côté de *a-re-pa-zo-o* *aleip'azohos* 'bouteille d'onguent' composée dont le premier membre remonte au thème *\*aleip'* *ŋ* (nom sing *\*aleip'-ŋ* 'on' *aleip'ar*). Comme le traitement normal de la nasale syllabique est *a* en mycénien (§ 4), il faut expliquer le vocalisme *o* par une action analogique. Plusieurs facteurs y ont probablement joué un rôle. Dans la flexion des neutres hétéroclites en *\*-ŋ*, on attend le type nom sing *\*aleip'-or* gen sing *aleip'atos* dat sing *aleip'atu* (a-re-pa-le) etc. d'après les lois phonétiques (§ 4). D'une part, le mycénien a donc pu créer la forme *aleip'ar* (écrite comme monogramme A+R1+PΔ servant d'ideogramme) en généralisant le vocalisme *a*. D'autre part, il a pu généraliser le vocalisme *o*, ce qui explique *a-re-po-zo-o*. Il est possible que le type *aleip'or* (cf. *tekmor* doublet de *tekmaz* 'marque, signe') ancien neutre à valeur collective ait également contribué à l'extension du vocalisme *o*. Ainsi, le vocalisme *o* de *hodor* 'eau' (orig. *\*wedor*) se retrouve dans l'expression *a-ro u-da-pi* *halos udop'i* 'avec des algues marines', où *udop'i* est une forme analogique pour *\*udop'i* issu de *\*ud-p-p'i*. De façon parallèle, l'ancien neutre collectif en *-mon* peut avoir contribué à la création des doublets mycéniens en *-mo*.

§ 12. Les textes mycéniens fournissent aussi des dérivés du nom *a-mo*. La graphie *a-mo-te-wo* représente la forme *am'otewos* gen sing d'un nom en *-eus* (*-ēw-*, § 4) qui désigne celui qui s'occupe de roues à rayons. Il s'agit probablement du chef de l'atelier ou l'on produit des roues à rayons, si l'on admet que le même atelier servait à la production de chars : on pourrait attribuer au nom le sens de 'charron'. La forme *a-mo-te-wi-ja* *am'otewia* est le féminin de l'adjectif d'appartenance en *-to-* dérivé de ce nom, mais l'interprétation pratique de cet adjectif est incertaine.

La graphie **a-mo-te-jo-na-de** représente l'expression *armh'oteyóna de*, qui comporte la postposition *de* vers *a'* construite avec l'accusatif de direction. Le nom *armh'oteyon* désigne l'atelier ou l'on produit des roues à rayons et peut être des chars, c'est à dire la charbonnerie. Le suffixe *-eyon-* est un doublet complexe de *-ón-*. Les noms masculins en *-on* désigne l'espace, local ou temporel, qui contient un ensemble des entités désignées par le nom de base. type *andron* 'appartement des hommes' *ampelon*, terrain contenant des vignes vignoble. *Hekatombaion* (nom du mois qui contient les ceremonies de la fete des *Hekatombaia*). L'ionien connaît également le suffixe synonyme *eón-* type *andreón*. La forme mycénienne *-eyón-* révèle l'origine du suffixe: il faut partir de *\*k'alkeyon* 'atelier ou l'on produit des objets en bronze forge' (ion *k'alkeon* att *k'alkéon*, derive de l'adjectif neutre substantivé *k'alkeyon* (cf. instr. plur. fem. *ka-ke-ja-pi* *ik'alkeyapi* pour y voir § 3). Or, en reinterprétant *\*k'alkey-ón* comme *k'alk'eyón* 'atelier ou l'on travaille le bronze', derive de *k'alkas* (*ka-kn*), le grec a obtenu le suffixe *-eyon-*, que figure dans **a-mo-te-jo-na-de** (R. 1968b).

Enfin l'anthroponyme **a-mo-ta-jo** peut s'interpréter comme *Arm'otaios* forme qui s'identifieait à l'adjectif patronymique en *-ta-* (cf. *wi-dwo-tjo* § 7) derive de l'anthroponyme *\*Arm'otas*. Celui-ci pourrait être interprété comme derive en *-a-* du nom **a-mo**; comparer **ku-ke-re-u** *Kukleus* (§ 10). Dans les anthroponymes masculins derives de noms de choses, on trouve cote à cote les suffixes *-a-*, *-én-* et *-ón-* (R. 1967: 219).

§ 13. Nous allons aborder maintenant l'analyse du verbe *\*arm'osso* attique *harmotto* 'ajuste' 'adapte' 'assemble' dont on trouve le participe parfait passif féminin **a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na** *ararm'otmēna* 'complètement montée' et l'adjectif verbal composé **a-na-mo-to** *anarm'otos* 'non montée' 'pas encore complètement monté'. Les deux expressions qualifient des chars (*ti-qi-ja*, § 8). Le sens des deux qualifications est illustré par l'ideogramme qui les suit. **a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na** répond à C'RRU'S dessin d'un char complet, abstraction faite des roues (serie KN 5d) **a-na-mo-to** à CAPSU'S, dessin d'un char incomplet (serie KN 5f). Il importe d'observer que dans la serie KN 5d **a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na**, c'est à dire le verbe derive, se refere au montage professionnel, c'est à dire à l'ajustement, à l'adaptation et à l'assemblage des pieces du char, activités qui exigent une experience technique specialisee, tandis que cela n'est pas le cas pour **a-ra-ru-ja**, c'est à dire le verbe primaire, qui se refere à l'action de munir le char de rennes (§ 8). Ce n'est probablement que plus tard qu'en consequence de la disparition du verbe primaire le verbe derive en a adopté des emplois non techniques.



Le type de redoublement de parfait qu'on trouve dans *ararm'otmenā* est sans doute du au modèle de celui du verbe primaire. Noter que la graphie irrégulière *a-ra-ro-mo-le-me-na* au lieu de \**a-ra-mo-le-me-na* (cf. *a-na-mo-to* et *a-mo*) exprime explicitement ce redoublement tout comme *a-ra-ru-wo-a* (§ 7). La graphie montre également que l'aspiration ne s'était pas encore déplacée vers le segment initial (§ 8, § 10). La forme antevocalique *an* de la négation dans *anarm'otias* le montre aussi devant h initial: le mycénien emploie la forme *a*. La forme attique *harmosmène* comporte en revanche le type de redoublement qui est régulier au premier millénaire et qui est homophone de l'augment temporel. Il nous paraît probable qu'en conséquence du déplacement de l'aspiration, \**hararmotmenos* a dû disparaître: le redoublement constitué des deux premiers segments du thème verbal n'était possible que dans le cas de voyelle non aspirée + consonne (type *elelaimai* 'je suis frappé', *alelimmai* 'je suis enduit d'huile'; cf. R. 1972).

La forme *ararm'otmena* maintient l'occlusive dentale finale du thème verbal devant *m*. De même on trouve *pe-pi-le-mo-no-jo* *pēp'it'menoiu'* génitif d'un anthroponyme qui s'identifie au participe parfait de *peit'omai* 'j'ai confiance' < \**pēit'omai* (voir n. 5), vis à vis de attique *pepeisomenos*. Comparer la forme homérique isolée *kekortismenos* orig. mun d'un casque. Le grec postmycénien a substitué *im* à *-im* *-im* *-dm* dans la flexion du parfait moyen sur le modèle de *it* (type *anarm'otias*) ou *i* est l'aboutissement phonétique de l'occlusive dentale devant occlusive dentale.

La forme attique *harmotō* remonte à \**arm'ot yō* comparer *eretō* 'je rame' < \**eret yō* (cf. *e-re-ta* *eretās* 'rameur'). La plupart des présents en *-tō* (attique) *-iō* (ionien) cependant reposent sur un thème verbal qui se termine par une occlusive dorsale (type *p'ulatto* *p'ulaxyō* 'je veille, je monte la garde' < \**p'ulak yō*). Inversement, la plupart des présents en *-zō* reposent sur un thème se terminant par une occlusive dentale (type *komuzō* 'je soigne' < \**komid yō*). En effet, le grec tend à employer un présent en *-tō* *-ssō* pour les thèmes en dorsale, un présent en *-zō* pour les thèmes en dentale. Ainsi, on trouve ion *préssō*, att *prētō*, 'j'agis' au lieu de \**prázō* < \**prāgyō* (cf. crétois *praddō*), et inversement *despōzō* 'je suis maître' au lieu de \**despōssō*, \**despottō* < \**despotyō* (*despotēs* 'maître'). C'est dans ce cadre qu'on peut rendre compte du fait qu'en dehors de l'attique, on trouve *harmōzō* au lieu de \**harmossō*.

§ 14 De même que \**eret yō* est un dérivé de *eretās* (§ 13) \**arm'otyō* doit être un dérivé de \**arm'otas*. A son tour le nom \**arm'otās* est un dérivé du nom \**arm'os* dont l'aboutissement phonétique



postmycénien est *harmos* joint. Le nom *harmos* doit être très ancien puisque l'ancien locatif lige *harmoi* survit comme adverbe temporel équivalant à *au tout à l'heure* : emploi métaphorique qui repose sur l'idée que le moment d'une certaine action se joint au moment présent : c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a guère de temps intermédiaire entre les deux moments. Dans son emploi concret, *harmos* désigne le joint dans la charpente ou la maçonnerie. Le nom \**arm'otas* doit avoir désigné l'homme qui s'occupe professionnellement de joints, c'est-à-dire le charpentier, le menuisier ou le maçon. Comparer l'aspect professionnel du nom to-ko-so-la *tokyotas* 'archer', dérive de *tokson* 'arc'.

Il est possible que \**arm'otas* ait été remplacé par *arm'ostēr* nom d'agent dérivé du verbe \**arm'oya* et attesté par la graphie a-mo-le-re (dat. sing. en -ei ou nom plur. en -es). Malheureusement, a-mo-le-re ne se rencontre que sur deux fragments de tablettes qui n'ont pas été attribués à une série spécifique : si bien que le manque de contexte empêche d'en dire davantage. Plus tard *harmostēr* (attique *harmostēs*) est le titre d'un gouverneur de province. Dans cet emploi métaphorique, le verbe *harmomō* se réfère à l'organisation d'un ensemble social d'une société : le gouverneur prend les mesures nécessaires pour le bon fonctionnement de la société et de ses membres (comparer aussi *harmonia* au sens d'organisation, de gouvernement, cf. n° 38). Il est tentant d'admettre un tel emploi également pour *harmos*. Dans cette hypothèse, on peut rendre compte d'anthroponymes comme *Harmokiades* dont la gloire réside dans l'organisation, ainsi *Harmō-lāos* se compare à *Harmoi-lās* qui organise l'armée. Par conséquent, l'anthroponyme mycénien a-mo-le-re[-we] se laisse interpréter comme *Arm'oklewēi* 'dont la renommée réside dans l'organisation'.

§ 15. En principe, *harmos* comporte le suffixe -*mō-* hérité du proto-indo-européen et servant à la formation de noms d'action ou plutôt de noms exprimant l'état qui résulte de l'achèvement de l'action exprimée par le thème de base. Souvent, ces noms d'état masculins désignent une chose concrète : c'est-à-dire le résultat matériel de l'action. Dans les noms en -*mō-* dérivés de racines, on trouve tantôt le degré 0 tantôt le degré zero, ce qui n'étonne pas dans des noms thématiques oxytons. Au premier millénaire av. J.-C., le suffixe -*mō-* est fort productif dans la formation de noms déverbatifs, tandis que le suffixe féminin -*mā* qui lui fait pendant, l'est beaucoup moins.

Dès l'époque préhistorique, le grec se sert très souvent des suffixes complexes -*smō* -et- *smā*, équivalents de -*mō-* et -*mā*. Ainsi, l'attique

a *osmé*, odeur' < \**odsmá*, tandis que l'ionien a *odmé*. Il est impossible de déterminer si *od-* remonte au degré zéro \**h<sub>2</sub>d-* (type *n<sub>2</sub>mé* 'honneur' < \**k<sup>h</sup>ih<sub>2</sub>-*) ou au degré α \**h<sub>1</sub>od-* (type *lok<sup>h</sup>me* 'repaire d'une bête sauvage'). En outre, il est très souvent impossible de déterminer si *-mō-* est le suffixe simple ou s'il remonte à *-smō-*. Ainsi *l'omōs* 'tas' peut s'expliquer tant à partir de \**t<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>mos* qu'à partir de \**t<sup>h</sup>is<sub>1</sub>mos* < \**t<sup>h</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>smōs* (racine \**t<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* > *t<sup>h</sup>e-* 'déposer'), vu le traitement *-sm-* > *-hm-* > *-m<sup>h</sup>-* après voyelle (n° 19). D'autre part, la voyelle longue de *k<sup>h</sup>umōs* 'suc' et de *t<sup>h</sup>umōs* 'timon' n'est conforme aux lois phonétiques que si l'on part de \**k<sup>h</sup>is<sub>1</sub>mos* (= *k<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>ω*) 'je verse' et de \**w<sup>h</sup>is<sub>1</sub>smōs* (= *w<sup>h</sup>iet<sup>h</sup>uō* 'je tire'). Dans un nom comme *plok<sup>h</sup>mos* 'tresse' (= *plekō* 'je tresse'), l'occlusive aspirée prouve qu'il faut partir de \**plok<sup>h</sup>smōs*. Le mot mycénien *a-ka-sa-ma* *aiksma* 'pointe d'une lance' (= *ai<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>smá* - Hom. *ai<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>mé* § 3) montre que le groupe *k<sup>h</sup>sm-* était encore intact à l'époque des tablettes.

Dans les noms en *-smō-* dérive d'un thème en occlusive dentale, *-smō-* est l'aboutissement phonétique de \**is<sub>1</sub>mō-*. Comme le traitement *ts* > *s* est postérieur au traitement *sm* > *hm*, le grec maintient le type *dasmōs* 'distribution, partage' < \**dat<sub>1</sub>smōs* nom probablement attesté en mycénien (*da-so-mo*). Dans ces conditions, le grec prémycénien a pu restaurer la consonne *s* dans des mots comme *do-so-mo* *idosmōs* 'don, contribution' (noter la parenté sémantique avec *dasmōs*) et *de-so-mo* *desmōs* 'lien', formes substituées à \**doh<sub>1</sub>mos* < \**dh<sub>1</sub>smōs* et à \**deh<sub>1</sub>mos* < \**dh<sub>1</sub>smōs*. (Comparer la restauration de *s* intervocalique dans les morphèmes *-si* (*dat* loc. plur.) < *-se so-* (futur), *-sta* (aoriste), qui est déjà un fait acquis en mycénien *ti-ri-si* *m<sup>h</sup>u* 'pour trois', *do-se* *dōset* 'il fournira', *e-re-u-te-ro-se* *eleut<sup>h</sup>erose* 'il a affranchi, rendu exempt d'impôts'.

§ 16. Sous ce rapport, les formes mycéniennes \**arm<sup>h</sup>ōs* (dans *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*, etc. § 13) et *a-mo* *arm<sup>h</sup>o* (§ 10) posent un problème. Le même problème se pose à propos de *horné* 'élan' < \**orm<sup>h</sup>á*, issue de \**or<sup>h</sup>smá* (voir n° 8). En effet, il est difficile d'admettre un traitement phonétique *ism* > *shm* > *-rm<sup>h</sup>-*, puisque d'une part, *rs-* intervocalique se maintient en grec (type *t<sup>h</sup>ersos* 'confiance') et que d'autre part, *-sm-* est encore intact en mycénien après la consonne *k* (type *a-ka-sa-ma* *aiksma*). Même après la liquide syllabique, *s* s'est maintenu *t<sup>h</sup>rasus* 'audacieux' < \**t<sup>h</sup>rsus*. Les exceptions concernent surtout l'aoriste sigmatique, ou le type *edéra* 'j'écorchai' < \**eder<sup>h</sup>a* (au lieu de \**edersa* s'explique par l'analogie du type *éména* 'je restai' < \**emenha* < \**emen<sup>h</sup>a*, le traitement phonétique *s* > *h* étant normal entre nasale et voyelle. Homère présente quelques aoristes sigmatiques ou *-rs-* et *-ls-* se sont maintenus. C'est le cas pour *érsa* (de *ar-*), si bien qu'on ne peut guère expliquer la substitution

de \**arhinos* à \**arsinos* comme analogique de l'aoriste sigmatique correspondant"

Pour *ker* 'couper' Homère présente tant *ekersa* que *ekēra* \**ekerha*. La forme originelle de cette racine est *kerv* mais le grec a tiré la forme plus récente *ker-* de l'aoriste *ekersa* (R. 1986: 392). Le degré 0 *kors* survit dans les noms *koryos* 'tronc d'arbre', *ekbranché* et *koryē* 'cheveux des tempes', 'tempe'. Or l'existence de \**ekerha* à côté de *ekersa* explique la substitution de \**korth-* à \**kors-* dans \**kortha* \**kprā* 'action de couper' et \**korthos* \**koros* 'bûches', 'branches coupées'. De même *kormos* 'tronc d'arbre', *ekbranché* peut s'expliquer en admettant la substitution de \**korthinos* à \**korsinos*. Dans cette hypothèse, on peut rendre compte de la substitution de \**arhinos* à \**arsinos* 'joint' (noter que *ker-* 'couper' est un antonyme de *ar-* 'ajuster', 'joindre') et de celle de \**arhina* à \**orsina*. Il est tentant de situer cette substitution dans la phase préhistorique du grec où les formes du type \**dolinos* et *dosmos* (§ 15) coexistaient encore. En tout cas, elle est antérieure à l'époque des tablettes. Il est impossible de déterminer si dans \**arsinos* la racine était au degré zéro (\**h<sub>1</sub>er-*) ou au degré 0 (\**h<sub>1</sub>or-*); si \**orsina* comporte la racine \**h<sub>1</sub>er-* (n. 8), il s'agit du degré 0 (\**h<sub>1</sub>or-*).

§ 17 La forme complexe *-smō-* a chance d'être une création du proto grec. En principe, elle peut s'expliquer en admettant une réinterprétation de noms en *-mō-* dérivés d'un thème qui comporte le suffixe *-s-*. On pourrait penser au thème verbal dérivé en *-s-*, morphème qui exprime l'achèvement de l'action exprimée par le thème de base, c'est-à-dire au thème qui plus tard a été intégré comme thème temporel de l'aoriste dans la conjugaison du verbe. Le sens d'achèvement convient bien aux noms en *-mō-*, qui expriment en principe l'état résultant de l'achèvement. Ainsi, \**dh<sub>1</sub>-smō-* 'lien' (*desmōs*) s'expliquerait par la réinterprétation de \**dh<sub>1</sub>-s-mō-*, nom où \**dh<sub>1</sub>-s-* serait le degré zéro de \**deh<sub>1</sub>-s-* 'achever l'action de lier' (*ēdēsa* 'je liai'). De même, \**ploksmōs* (§ 15)" et \**arsmōs* se rapporteraient aux thèmes en *-s-* qui survivent dans les aoristes *epleksa* et *ērsa*.

D'autre part, le grec connaît quelques noms en *-mō-*, *-mā* qui sont dérivés de thèmes nominaux, notamment *drumā* 'bosquet' (pluriel de \**drumōn*, dérivé de *doru* 'bois', cf. *drūs* 'arbre', skr. *drumā-bh* 'arbre') et *halmē* 'eau de mer', 'saumure' (dérivé de *hals* 'sel'). Ces dérivés semblent avoir une valeur collective. Le thème de base est au degré zéro *dru-*, *hal* < \**h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>er-*). Dans ces conditions, l'élément \**ods-* de \**odsmā* (*osmē*, § 15) pourrait comporter le degré zéro de la racine \**h<sub>1</sub>ed-* 'exhaler une odeur' (présent *ōzō* issu de \**h<sub>1</sub>ed-yé-yō-*) et celui du suffixe nominal *-es/os-*, c'est-à-dire la forme réduite du



nom neutre \**h₂édos* (thème \**h₂edes-*), qui survit au second membre de composés comme *eu-ides* 'qui a une bonne odeur'. Dans ce cadre on pourrait admettre un rapport entre \**arismos* \**plukymos* et les neutres *plekos* 'objet tresse' \**aros* 'objet ajusté' (§ 18). Bien entendu les deux hypothèses ne s'excluent pas il se peut que ce soit précisément la coexistence de thèmes dénominatifs et de thèmes deverbalisés en *-aro-* qui explique le succès de ce suffixe en grec.

§ 18. Passons maintenant à l'expression [e-]ke-a ka-ka re-a *ank'cha* *k'alkareha* 'lances munies d'une pointe en bronze' (KN R 1815) qui rappelle l'expression homérique *k'alkérei duri* (dat. sing.) Chez Homère l'adjectif *k'alkérei* s'applique aussi à des fleches, des casques et des bouchers. Il signale que les objets en question sont pourvus de certains éléments en bronze : ajustés et joints au corps de l'objet. Comme *k'alkérei* est un composé du type *trietes* 'qui a trois ans' dont le second membre est le thème du nom neutre *twietos*, il faut postuler un nom neutre \**aros* = \**h₂eros* 'élément ajusté et joint au corps d'un objet' (thème \**ares* = \**h₂eres-*). La valeur générale du suffixe *-os* ressemble à celle de *-ma* (§ 10) ainsi *déros* est synonyme de *derma* 'peau dépouillée d'un animal'.

La graphie ka-ka re-a, avec un certain espace entre les signes ka et re, montre que le scribe a senti le caractère composé de l'adjectif en linéaire B : les composés sont souvent écrits comme une séquence de deux mots graphiques. — Dans l'évolution ultérieure du grec *-érei* a fini par fonctionner comme un quasi-suffixe 'type *teik'érei* 'entérme dans des murs'. Pour *-odes* (§ 17) un tel emploi se trouve déjà chez Homère 'type *lissodes* 'entrage'. Cette évolution s'explique par la disparition des noms simples \**aros* et \**odos* remplacés par des noms comme *armenon* (§ 9) et *aymé* (§ 17).

§ 19. Dans les composés possessifs proto-indo-européens c'était sans doute le second membre qui portait l'accent. C'est ce que prouve notamment le degré zéro caractéristique du premier membre (R 1980 194-196). En grec en revanche l'accent recule vers l'initiale dans la mesure où le permet la loi de limitation : à cet effet il ne peut se placer avant la syllabe finale du premier membre. Ainsi le grec a *tri-pod-* 'à trois pieds, trépied' tandis que la forme *tri-péd-* du sanskrit maintient l'accentuation originelle. L'innovation grecque est une conséquence de la loi de limitation. Dans les composés proto-indo-européens dont le premier membre était un verbe et le second membre le complément de ce verbe c'était le premier membre qui portait l'accent 'type sanskrit *dati-vāra-* 'qui donne des trésors' (= \**deh₂-ti-*). En grec historique le type \**Dōtisténēs* = *Dōtisténēs* 'qui donne de la force' et le type possessif *Eurusténēs* 'qui a une force

étendue' ont tous les deux l'accentuation récessive. En effet, la loi de limitation a changé \**Dōistēnēs* en \**Dōistēnēs*, gén. \**Dōistēnesos*, etc., voc. \**Dōistēnes*. Par conséquent, l'accentuation est devenue identique à celle des composés possessifs *Eurustēnes*, \**Eurustēnesos*, etc. ou, abstraction faite du vocalif, l'accent a gardé sa place ancienne (cf. skr. *dur-mānas-* 'troublé'). Le vocalif *Eurustēnes* 'explique dans ce cadre par l'analogie de *Dōistēnes*. L'accentuation récessive a fini par être étendue aux autres composés possessifs. Ainsi le type nom plur. *tripodes* (orig. \**tri-pōd-*) a adopté l'accentuation récessive du type *aeripodes*, 'qui levent les pieds' (orig. \**h<sub>2</sub>wérti-pod-*).

Si nous avons illustré le recul de l'accent dans les composés en -ēs par des anthroponymes, c'est que dans cette catégorie l'accentuation récessive s'est complètement maintenue. Dans les adjectifs, en revanche, l'accentuation récessive du type *trietes* (neutre *trietes*) ne s'est conservée que pour un nombre restreint de seconds membres. La plupart des adjectifs en -ēs sont oxytons. Ainsi, l'accent de *diogenēs* né de Zeus suppose à celui de l'anthroponyme *Diogēnēs*. Cette innovation s'explique par une réinterprétation du second membre. En effet, le composé originellement possessif (dont le génos appartient à Zeus) a été réinterprété comme un dérivé de l'expression verbale *thos genescai* 'être né de Zeus'. C'est pourquoi il a emprunté l'oxytonaison aux composés du type *hu-p'orhōs*, qui nourrit des pores, 'pâcher', dérive de l'expression verbale *hus p'erhen*, 'nourrir des pores'. Tandis que le type *hu-p'orhōs* se rattache à l'emploi actif du verbe transitif, le type *diogenēs* concerne plutôt l'emploi passif du verbe ou le verbe intransitif. Ainsi *harmatopégōs* 'qui construit des chars, charbon' (pég = pāg = \*-pohg-) suppose chez Homère à *eipeget* 'bien construit' (originellement 'dont la structure est bonne', second membre \*-pag es = \*-pehg-es-). Comme d'autre part, le rapport entre le type *diogenēs* et le type génos continuait à être senti, l'oxytonaison s'est étendue à presque tous les adjectifs en -ēs, même à la plupart de ceux qui ne se laissent pas rattacher à une expression verbale et qui ont donc entièrement conservé leur valeur possessive originelle: type *dolikh' enk'ēs* 'dont la lance est longue'.

Cet excursus sur l'accentuation des composés en -ēs était nécessaire pour montrer que l'adjectif *k'alkāres* présuppose en effet un nom neutre \**āros* s'il s'agissait du dérivé d'une expression verbale ('être muni de bronze'), l'adjectif eut été oxyton. Il semble d'ailleurs que déjà à date ancienne, le grec ait fabriqué des adjectifs en -āres, -ēres dont le sens répond à l'interprétation verbale du second membre. Ainsi, Homère présente *ēumērēs* qui est adapté au désir du cœur, 'agréable' (noter l'emploi métaphorique: il s'agit d'une qualité d'ordre mental) et *euerēs* 'bien adapté'. Il est possible d'interpréter l'an-

thrononyme mycénien *e-u-wa-re* comme *Ehu-âres* nom attesté plus tard *Euâres*, *Euérés*, ici, il pourrait s'agir d'une qualité sociale 'bien adapté, convenable' (cf *a-me-no* /*Armenos*/, § 9)

§ 20 Ensuite, le mycénien fournit le dérivé *a-to-mo* /*ar'tmós*/ 'union, ligue'. Les contextes où figure ce nom ne permettent guère d'en établir la valeur pratique précise mais il semble s'agir d'une association d'hommes qui poursuivent ensemble un certain but. La valeur de *ar-* s'applique ici à un ensemble constitué de membres liés les uns aux autres et adapté à une certaine fonction. Plus tard, *ar'tmós* peut se référer aux liens d'amitié, Homère emploie l'adjectif *ar'tmos* (avec datif) 'lié à' pour exprimer l'appartenance à un *ar'tmós* de ce genre.

Au point de vue morphologique, le nom comporte le suffixe complexe-*t'mo* qui, tout en étant moins fréquent, se compare à *-smó-* (§ 15-17). Ici encore, on trouve tantôt le degré a de la racine (type *por'tmos* lieu de passage, detroit) tantôt le degré zéro (type *ter'tmos* équivalent dorien de *tesmos* 'institution règle'). Pour *ar'tmós*, on peut donc partir soit de *\*h<sub>2</sub>or-* soit de *\*h<sub>2</sub>r-*. Il est probable que le suffixe *t'mo-* résulte de la reinterprétation de noms en *-mo-* dérivés d'un thème verbal à suffixe *-t-*. Ce suffixe se trouve dans des présents thématiques comme *pléró* 'je suis plein' (*\*pleh<sub>1</sub>-t-*). D'autre part, *-t-* peut également s'expliquer comme degré zéro de *-et-* suffixe qu'on trouve dans des présents thématiques comme *teléró* 'je deviens' (*\*k<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-ét-*; cf l'éolisme *pelomat* 'je deviens' chez Homère) et dans des aoristes thématiques comme *esk'et'on* 'je teins' (*\*sk<sup>h</sup>-ét-*). Noter que pour un nom tel que *staf'mos* 'étable' (myc *ta-to-mo*), les deux analyses *sta t'mo-* et *staf' mo-* (cf *staf'eros* 'stable') étaient possibles. Sous ce rapport, il est intéressant d'observer que le grec a connu le présent *ar'to* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>r-et-*, § 25).

§ 21 Il est possible que le nom *artos* 'pain' indirectement attesté dans myc *a-to-po-qo* *artopok'tos* 'qui cuit le pain, boulanger' (*-ar-topopos* avec dissimilation *artakopost*) se rattache à la racine *ar-*, le pain étant le résultat de l'assemblage de farine d'eau, de sel et de levain. Dans cette hypothèse plusieurs explications morphologiques sont a priori possibles. On pourrait penser à un adjectif verbal *\*artos* (*\*h<sub>2</sub>r-tó-*), substantivé par l'élapse de *sitos* 'blé' (myc *sa-to*), en admettant que *artos* a adopté l'accentuation de *sitos*. Ou bien à un nom *artos* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ortos* du même type que *p'or-to-s* 'tardeau chargé'. Cependant, nous préférons y voir un dérivé du type *p'or-o-s* 'contribution qu'on apporte' en admettant un thème verbal dérivé *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-t-* > *art-*. Ce thème figure dans plusieurs verbes dérivés *artuó* 'j'arrange' je prépare j'assaisonne j'administre, *artuno* 'je dispose,



je prépare"<sup>60</sup>, *arteomai* 'je suis préparé (présent passif)'<sup>61</sup> En outre, l'adjectif composé *epartēs* 'équipe, préparé' presuppose un nom neutre \**artos* < \**h<sub>2</sub>ert-os*. Enfin, l'adverbe *arti* 'juste, tout à l'heure' (§ 14) s'explique comme locatif d'un thème nominal *art-* (\**h<sub>2</sub>ért-i* ou \**h<sub>2</sub>ért-l*)<sup>62</sup>.

§ 22 La racine \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* > *ar-* a également fourni un adjectif qui signifie 'bon' (§ 6). À l'époque classique, cet emploi se trouve dans le superlatif *aristos* 'le meilleur', forme issue de \**h<sub>2</sub>r-is-tó-*<sup>63</sup>. La graphie mutilée *a-ri-to-[-]jo* (KN Ph 347) peut représenter le datif d'un anthroponyme *Aristog<sup>64</sup>tos* 'qui a la meilleure force' ( *hía*) ou 'qui a la meilleure vie' ( *bios*). Le mycénien a conservé la forme originelle du comparatif nom plur masc *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-e* *larvohes* ntr *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-a* *arvoha* 'meilleur, de meilleure qualité' (pour *ro<sub>2</sub>*, voir § 2)<sup>65</sup>. L'adjectif s'applique à des tissus et à des roues à rayons. Le thème *artos-* remonte à \**h<sub>2</sub>er-yos-*<sup>66</sup>.

En mycénien, le thème des comparatifs en *-yos-* se maintient toujours, abstraction faite du traitement *h* de *s* intervocalique (§ 3). Vis-à-vis de nom plur *me-zo-e* *mezohev* *me-zo-a*, *mezoha* 'plus grand' (\**meg-yos-*), il faut sans doute interpréter la graphie *me-zo* du nom sing comme *mezós* (masc fem) *mezos* (ntr). L'insertion de *n* après la voyelle *o* est une innovation postmycénienne. Elle s'explique du fait qu'après les contractions postmycéniennes, des formes comme gen sing \**mezós* *mezoheos* gen plur \**mezon* < *mezohós* étaient devenues trop opaques. C'est pourquoi le grec a inséré la consonne *n* sur le modèle des adjectifs du type *mnēmón*, 'qui se souvient' (thème *mnēmon*). Cette innovation est parallèle à l'insertion de la consonne *t* après la voyelle *o* du suffixe *-wos-* > *-wot(h)* du participe parfait (§ 7) à ceci près que l'innovation a également atteint le nom sing (type *mezōn*, *mēzon*). D'autre part *mezos* (< *mezoheos*) et *mezo* (< *mezoha*) subsistent comme doublets de *mezones* et *mēzona*. Le comparatif \**arōs* < \**artos* n'a pas été remplacé par \**arōv*, forme trop opaque, mais par *areion*, forme attestée chez Homère et qui s'explique par l'influence de *pleion* 'plus, plus nombreux' (\**pléh<sub>1</sub>-yos-*).

§ 23 Le positif correspondant de l'adjectif doit avoir été \**h<sub>2</sub>r-éy-*, nom sing masc \**h<sub>2</sub>r-i-a*. En grec, il ne survit qu'au premier membre de composés tels que l'adjectif *arignōtos* 'bien reconnaissable' (Homère) et l'anthroponyme *Arip<sup>67</sup>rōn* 'qui a un bon cœur, du bon sens'<sup>68</sup>. En effet, abstraction faite des composés du type *pukī-médēs* (n 64), le grec a perdu les adjectifs du type \**puk<sub>1</sub>-i-a*, qui ont été remplacés par des formes plus récentes (*puknós* 'serré, solide', et *pukinos*, croisement de \**pukis* avec *puknós*). Le mycénien présente *ari-* dans l'anthroponyme *a-ri-we-we* *Arwérwēs* 'qui a de bonne laine' (

\**wérwos* «Hom. gros») Le nom *a-ri-wo* *Ariwon* dat. *a-ri-wo-ne* *Ariwonet*, s'explique comme hypocoristique en *-won* (R. 1968a 143, 148) à partir de tels anthroponymes composés. De même *a-ri-ja-wo*, dat. *a-ri-ja-wo-ne* se laisse interpréter comme *Ariawon* (1968a 128) hypocoristique de noms tels que \**Aridnos* (cf. *Fuénos* 'qui a des hommes excellents')

Le plus souvent cependant le mycénien emploie *eri-* au lieu de *ari-* *e-ri-ke-re-we* *Erikerewes* qui a une bonne renommée *e-ri-qi-jo* *Eriqiwos* et le m. *e-ri-qi-ja* *Eriqia* qui a une bonne force (cf. *biat* ou 'qui a une bonne vie' (cf. *bios*) *e-ri-ko-wo* *Erikowos* qui surveille bien (cf. *e-pi-ko-wo* *epikowon* 'surveillants' latin *cavere* 'prendre garde') *e-ri-la-ri-ja* *Erialios* = \**Eritaios* qui fleurit bien (cf. *tallos*, *talea* 'je fleuris') *e-ri-we-ro* *Eriweros* qui rend de bons services (Hom. *ereres* nom plur. de la forme athénienne correspondante) *e-ri-ka-we-e* *Erikawetes* qui a une beauté excellente (datif, cf. *kaltwos* 'beau' *kallós* 'beauté'). La forme *eri-* se retrouve chez Homère dans des adjectifs composés comme *eribolos* 'qui a de bonnes mottes de terre'

Au premier millénaire les adjectifs composés en question ne se rencontrent que dans le langage poétique où *ari-* *eri-* a fini par servir simplement de préfixe exprimant la notion d'intensité. Chez Homère *ari-* et *eri-* équivalent pratiquement à *eú-* *eu-* thème de l'adjectif *eú* 'bon' = \**h<sub>2</sub>s-u-s-*. L'adjectif *eúos* est attesté en mycénien par des noms propres comme *e-u-po-ro-wo* *Euplowos* qui navigue bien. Ceci invite à conclure que dès avant l'époque des tablettes, le mycénien a fabriqué *eri-* comme doublet de *ari-* sous l'influence de *eú*. La même substitution se trouve pour l'adverbe *ara* = \**h<sub>2</sub>g-n* (type *puká* 'de façon serrée' R. 1968b) dont le sens original était sans doute 'bien'. Chez Homère la particule post-positive *ara* *ar* sert en principe à demander l'attention spéciale pour le contenu de la phrase nouvelle. 'Il le répond donc à "Eh bien!" (anglais *Well...*). La forme *er-* est attestée dans des gloses chypriotes comme *katiwai* *katiwai* 'assieds-toi' c'est-à-dire *kai er eu* (= *hesai* *hed vai* impératif de l'aoriste sigmatique-moyen). Rappelons que le chypriote est un dialecte achéen tout comme le mycénien (§ 4). Chez Homère *eri-* appartient donc aux éléments achéens hérités de la tradition épique mycénienne.

§ 24 La notion de 'bon' se trouve aussi dans le nom abstrait *areté* 'bonne qualité' 'vertu'. En mycénien il est attesté dans l'anthroponyme dérivé *a-re-ta-wo* *Aretawon* qui comporte le suffixe *-won-* (R. 1968a 115-134). Le suffixe *-eta* se retrouve dans des noms d'action comme *teletá* 'exécution des rites' 'célébration des

mysteres (telêô j'exécute une tâche : racine \*telh<sub>1</sub>-). La racine était originellement au degré zéro (telêr < \*tlh<sub>1</sub>-et-), tout comme dans les noms masculins correspondants du type *nip'etos* (n 33). Noter la coexistence de *biotê* et de *biotos* vie (\*g'ih<sub>1</sub>-et-). Par conséquent *aretê* est issue de \*h<sub>1</sub>r-et- (cf. \*h<sub>1</sub>ert- > *art* § 21).

§ 25. Le nom de la source *Aret'osa* doit s'identifier au participe féminin d'un présent *aret'ô*. Le mycénien fournit le participe masculin correspondant comme anthroponyme : gen *a-re-to-to* *Aret'ontos*. Le thème verbal *aret'* doit remonter à \*h<sub>1</sub>r-et-; comparer *p'awet'ô* 'je repands de la lumière' (\*p'h<sub>1</sub>w-et-; cf. *p'awos* lumière < \*p'h<sub>1</sub>ew-os), *telêr'ô* (§ 20) *eret'ô* (n 8). Malheureusement, les noms propres ne permettent pas d'établir la valeur précise du verbe. Comme la plupart des verbes en -et'ô sont intransitifs, on pourrait attribuer à \**aret'ô* le sens de 'je suis ajusté, adapté, en état de fonctionner bien ou je prospère'. Le verbe pourrait avoir remplacé le vieux verbe d'état \**armit* dont le participe *armenos* subsiste (§ 9). À son tour, *aret'ô* 'je prospère' verbe dérive de *aretê* et attesté chez Homère pourrait s'être substitué à \**arêr'ô*.

D'autre part, l'anthroponyme *Aret'on* fait penser à *Aret'ôn* qui plaît. L'infect *aret'sko* 'je plais' peut s'expliquer comme présent en -sko dérive de *aret'* : comparer *p'uskô* dérive à valeur originellement itérative de *p'ami* 'je dis'. Dans la construction avec le datif personnel, le sens 'je plais à quelqu'un' s'explique à partir de 'je suis bon aux yeux de quelqu'un' 'je semble bon à quelqu'un'. L'aoriste sigmatique *eret'ô* 'je plus' peut remonter \**aret' s-*. Chez Homère, le présent *aret'sko* n'est pas attesté, tandis que l'aoriste sigmatique et le futur servent à exprimer la notion de 'donner satisfaction pour se reconcilier avec quelqu'un'. Cette valeur peut s'expliquer en admettant l'emploi causalif de l'aoriste sigmatique : type *ebêsa* 'je fis marcher' vis-à-vis de *baskô bainô* 'je marche'. La valeur originelle de *arêsthai* (inf. act.) et *arêsthaien* (inf. moyen) peut donc avoir été 'rendre bon' et 'rendre bon pour soi-même'. Comparer les expressions allemandes *gutmachen* et *Wiedergutmachung*, qui se réfèrent également à l'action de donner satisfaction et de se reconcilier. Comme complément direct ou moyen, on trouve tantôt la situation de mauvaises relations due à la faute préalable du sujet\*, tantôt la personne mal traitée à qui le sujet donne satisfaction. Sous ce rapport, cet emploi homérique se laisse également rattacher à l'emploi de *ar'émôs* (§ 20) pour désigner les liens d'amitié : le sujet fait que l'autre personne se lie (de nouveau) avec lui. C'est ce qui invite à admettre un rapport morphologique entre *aret'ô* et *ar'émôs*.

L'adjectif verbal *aret'os* qui plaît, agréable se rattache à *arêskô*



La forme *arex-* s'explique à partir de *arer*. Il est vrai que dans l'adjectif verbal en *-to-* on attend le degré zéro du thème verbal mais la forme mycénienne *re-po-to-* *leptos* mince ( *lepō* jépluche ) montre déjà l'insertion de *e* entre liquide et obstruante. C'est pourquoi il est possible d'interpréter l'anthroponyme mycénien *a-re-ta<sub>2</sub>* (*ta<sub>2</sub>* = *ta*) comme *Arestias* hypocoristique de noms composés tels que *Arestō doros* ou *T'e-ārestos*.

§ 26. En terminant nous tenons à souligner l'incertitude de plusieurs explications proposées ici. Néanmoins, nous espérons avoir montré l'importance des données mycénienes pour la reconstruction de l'évolution morphologique et sémantique qui a abouti à l'emploi multiple de la racine *ar-* en grec.

### Notes

- 1 Pour des détails, voir R. 1967 22-31 et R. 1985a 119-126. Pour les mots mycéniens, les renvois aux textes se trouvent dans Olivier (etc.) 1973, dans le glossaire de Ventris-Chadwick 1973 et dans Aura Jorro 1985.
- 2 Les syllabogrammes *za*, *ze*, *zo* expriment l'affriquée dentale sourde (*\*as < ky* etc.) ou sonore (*\*za < dy, gy*).
- 3 En linéaire B, les mots sont en principe séparés l'un de l'autre par un tiret vertical. Les mots monosyllabiques postpositifs (enclitiques ou non) constituent une seule unité graphique avec le mot précédent, les monosyllabes prépositifs avec le mot suivant, exemples *tu-ka-te-qe* 'l'agater *k'e* et la fille', *pa-te-de-pa-ter* *dēi* 'mais le père', *o-do-ke* *ho dōke* 'comment il a livré'. La graphie *qo-o*, où le second signe paraît redondant, montre que les scribes évitaient des mots graphiques constitués d'un seul syllabogramme.
- 4 L'aspiration de att. *hēneka* est due à l'influence de *hōneka < hō ēneka* 'à cause de quoi', 'parce que', conjonction qui à l'époque classique en est venue à s'employer comme doublet de la préposition *ēneka*.
- 5 Plus tard *ek'ei*. L'action de la loi de Grassmann est probablement postérieure à l'époque des tablettes (R. 1967 44-46).
- 6 La forme *-sa-* a été tirée de formes comme *edeiksamen* 'nous montrâmes', ou *-am-* < *\*-qam* résulte de l'application de la loi de Sievers-Edgerton.
- 7 Le traitement final *-or* se trouve dans *āor* 'arme, épée'.

\**ahor-* \**ps-ŕ* (R 1985a 153-157) nom attesté chez Homère et attribué à l'arcadien par une glose. En mycénien, on le trouve dans les anthroponymes *a-o-ri-me-ne* *Ahori-menes* dont la force réside dans l'arme et *do-ri-ka-o* *Dulik'-ahor* dont l'arme est longue.

- 8 La structure phonologique de \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* \**ar-* est semblable à celle de \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* \**er-* mettre en mouvement, agiter irriter (présent *eret-o* \**hir-et'*) et à celle de \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* \**ar-* faire se lever (présent *orimō* issue de \**h<sub>2</sub>g-n-ew-mi*). Parfois il est difficile de distinguer ces deux racines qui ont en commun le trait sémantique mouvement et le degré 0 (\**h<sub>2</sub>or-* \**ar-*, \**h<sub>2</sub>or-* \**or-*). Le sens du nom *horme* 'clan assaut départ', issue de \**orimō* (§ 1b), invite à partir de \**h<sub>2</sub>or-*. Comparer les gloses d'Hésychius *éreto* *hormere* 'il se mit en mouvement et subjonctif *ersei* *harmévet* 'qu'il mette en mouvement'. L'aoriste thématique *eretor* \**hir-e-to* est parallèle à *orctor* \**hie-hir-e-to* 'il se leva'. L'aoriste sigmatique *er-s-* \**hier-s-* à *or-s-* \**hie-h<sub>2</sub>er-s-ŕp* 'je fis se lever'. Noter que *oras* 'montagne' \**h<sub>2</sub>er-os* prouve tant au point de vue morphophonologique qu'au point de vue sémantique, l'existence de \**h<sub>2</sub>er-* comme racine distincte de \**h<sub>2</sub>er-*.
- 9 Pour le morphème de présent \**ŕsk-e-o-*, voir R 1985a 142-143 148-149. Pour le redoublement du type *ar-ar-*, voir R 1972 224-226. Après tout il est bien possible que *arar-ŕkō* remonte à \**h<sub>2</sub>g-h<sub>2</sub>r-* : emploi répété du degré zéro devant le suffixe accentué \**ské-*. Comparer les types *mimō* 'j'attends' et *gignōskō* 'je reconnais', qui s'expliquent à partir de \**m'-m-n-é* et \**g'-g-ph<sub>2</sub>-ské-*, si l'on admet que la voyelle *i* de la syllabe de redoublement est issue d'une voyelle d'appui. D'autre part, *erur-on* peut remonter à \**h<sub>2</sub>er-h<sub>2</sub>r-*. Comparer le type *é-pe-p'n-o-n* 'je tuai', où le redoublement comporte le vocalisme *e* devant le degré zéro de la racine.
- 10 La scholie A à II 18 601 donne *eu hērmōsmenon* 'bien ajusté' comme paraphrase de *armenon*. Or *hērmōsmenon* est un participe parfait passif et exprime donc l'état.
- 11 D'après une glose, le chypriote a conservé le nom *p'asganon*. Puis, il figure chez Homère, sans doute comme élément achéen (mycénien) de la tradition épique, et chez des poètes postérieurs.
- 12 Comme forme originelle on attendrait soit \**h<sub>2</sub>ér-h<sub>2</sub>or-h<sub>2</sub>e* > \**árara* (redoublement total) soit \**h<sub>2</sub>é-h<sub>2</sub>or-h<sub>2</sub>e* > \**ára* (redoublement partiel). La forme attestée *árara* pourrait s'expliquer par le croisement de ces deux formes hypothétiques. Ou bien, la long a été introduit sur le modèle du type *pepaga* 'je suis fixé' < \**pé-ph<sub>2</sub>g-h<sub>2</sub>e* vis-à-vis de formes comme \**pepagwós* < \**pé-ph<sub>2</sub>g-wós*. Cf R 1972.
- 13 Pour les aspirées voir n° 5. L'expression homérique Od 12 423 *bnos r'mōto teteuk'ós* a chance de recouvrir une expression

mycénienne *g'owós wrinoio t'et'uk'wós*. Partout ailleurs, Homère se sert des formes moyennes plus récentes pour exprimer le parfait passif de ce verbe : *tetuktai tetugmenos* etc.

- 14 En éolien le participe parfait a complètement adopté l'élément *-ont-* des participes de thèmes thématiques. Ainsi, le lesbien a *leloiponta leloipont leloipont* et féminin *leloipousa (-ousa- -ousa)*.
- 15 Ou bien le pluriel *ikk'ia ararum*. Le nom du char repose sur l'emploi substantif de la forme féminine de l'adjectif d'appartenance en *-ia-* dérive du nom *i-ko* *ikk'os* 'cheval'. L'expression complète était probablement *wo-ku i-qi-ja wok'a* *ikk'ia* 'voiture à chevaux' *wok'a* étant originellement le nom d'action dérive de *wik'o* 'je transporte au moyen d'une voiture'. Le nom *ikk'ia* survit au premier membre du composé *hip'puk'armes* 'celui qui combat sur un char' chez Homère. L'aspiration initiale de la forme attique *hippos* est adventice : elle ne figure pas dans des anthroponymes mythologiques comme *Leuk'ippos* 'qui a des chevaux blancs'. Elle peut s'expliquer par l'influence du nom *harma* 'char' : *\*arm'a* (H 30). La voyelle *i* est plus difficile à expliquer : on attendrait *\*ékk'os* *\*ékwos* (lat. *equus*, skr. *asva-*). Comme le flottement *e/i* est caractéristique de mots d'origine préhellénique, on pourrait penser à l'influence d'un nom préhellénique (minoen ?), qui a son tour aurait été emprunté à une langue indo-européenne. Voir R. 1976 : 184-186, R. 1979b : 213-215.
- 16 Il est possible qu'une expression homérique telle que Il. 3.338 *enk'os, ho hou palamep'in ardei* 'sa lance qui était ajustée à sa paume' se rattache à l'emploi mycénien de *pi*. Chez Homère cependant, *palamep'in* équivaut à un datif singulier tandis qu'en mycénien, *palamep'i* un instrumental pluriel.
- 17 Parlois on a interprété la graphie *a-ra-ru-wo-ja* (KN Sd 4408) comme *arat-uoiat* *\*uoiya*. Cependant il vaut mieux admettre une graphie incorrecte : contamination de *a-ra-ru-ja* avec *a-ra-ru-wo-a* (§ 7).
- 18 Cf. moyen irlandais *éissi* 'brides' (pluriel de *\*ansio-*) lat. *ansa* 'anse, poignée'. Le thème *\*ans-i-* figure au premier membre du composé *a-ni-o-ko* *an'ihok'os* 'celui qui tient les rênes' 'conducteur d'un char' (ion. att. *hemok'os*, cf. vieux prussien *ansis* 'crémaillère').
- 19 Traitement du type *\*ép'ansa* *\*ép'ōna*, je montrai (att. *ep'ont*). Comparer le traitement du type *\*hsmē* *\*hsmē* *\*ahmē* *\*ām'e* *\*hāmē* 'nous' (acc., dorien). La perte du segment *h* ( *s* ) devant ou après la nasale amène à la fois l'allongement compensatoire de la voyelle précédente et l'addition du trait distinctif aspiré à la nasale. Plus tard, le trait aspiré se déplace vers le segment initial, à moins que la syllabe initiale ne comporte



une obstruante. Le même déplacement se produit dans le cas de *h* intervocalique : \**iseros* \**iteros* *iueros* appartenant aux dieux \**wesamys* *wetamoy* (*we-as-no* : § 3) = *w-eanos* *heanos* 'vetement'. Les tablettes présentent côte à côte les types *i-e-re-u* *itereus* et *i-je-re-u* *iuereus* 'prêtre' ce qui montre qu'après la voyelle fermée *i* (ou *u*) *h* était en train d'aboutir à la semi-voyelle *y* (ou *w*) par assimilation (R. 1967 : 55-56).

20 Pour les participes servant d'anthroponymes voir Lejeune 1972a : 31-37.

21 *A priori*, l'aoriste n'est pas exclu pour ce genre d'anthroponymes cf. *ku-ru-me-no* *Klamenon* 'dont on a entendu parler' 'celebre' *Ke-se-me-no* *Kersamenon* 'qui s'est coupé (les cheveux)'

22 C'est surtout le sens spécifique de 'char' qui invite à partir du sens spécifique 'roue' à r-ovos. Il est vrai qu'on pourrait attribuer à *a-mo* le sens générique de 'roue' en l'expliquant à partir de la notion d' 'objet dont on munit une chose' (voiture munie de roues) mais dans cette hypothèse on attendrait le sens générique de 'voiture' pour *fuoma* dans le grec postmycénien. Homère emploie les noms *apene* et *amaksa* pour désigner le chariot, voiture à quatre roues et tirée par des mules. En mycénien le nom *apena* probablement préhellénique est indirectement attesté par le dérivé *a-pe-ne-wa* *apenewon* 'gen. plur. de *apeneus* 'bête de trait pour voiture à quatre roues'.

23 On attendrait l'accentuation oxytone pour ce vieux nom indo-européen qui comporte la racine *k<sup>h</sup>el-* 'tourner' précédée d'un redoublement *k<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>l-o-* (la voyelle *u* remontant à une voyelle d'appui). L'accentuation barytone provient de la forme \**k<sup>h</sup>e-k<sup>h</sup>l-o-* (anglo-saxon *hwrot* issu de germ. \**hwéhwlā-*), dont la structure est parallèle à celle de *péplon* 'pièce d'étoffe servant de vêtement' (racine *pel-* *phel-*). Inversement, skr. *cakrá-* est oxyton.

24 Le changement *hm* → *m<sup>h</sup>* (n. 19) après consonne *n* est pas accompagné d'un allongement compensatoire.

25 Cette influence est évidente dans un cas comme *desma* 'lien' dont le vocalisme radical a été emprunté à *desmos* 'lien' (myc. *de-so-mo*), forme qui est issue de \**dh<sub>1</sub>-s-mó-* (degré zéro de la racine). En effet les neutres en *-ma* les plus anciens comportent le degré *e* la racine cf. *hupo-dema* 'sandale' (\**deh<sub>1</sub>-mṛ*) - Pour les rapports entre *(s)ma* et *(s)mo-* voir Chantraine 1933 : 175-177.

26 Pour l'histoire ultérieure du suffixe voir R. 1983 : 398.

27 La graphie *e-ka-ma-pi* représente *hek<sup>h</sup>map<sup>h</sup>i* non pas \**map<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>-mat* *p<sup>h</sup>i*. En effet dorien *masi* (dat. plur.) prouve que l'élargissement *-i* ne s'insérerait pas devant consonne mais seulement devant voyelle, puisque l'aboutissement dorien de \**masi*



eût été *t-massi*

- 28 Cf Benveniste 1935 121-123. Leukart 1987 347-364. En grec de tels anciens neutres collectifs survivent d'une part comme noms masculins barytons en *-mon*- type *stemon* 'chaîne verticale du métier à tisser' (lat. *stāmen* \**stéh<sub>2</sub>-mŋ*). La valeur collective est évidente : il s'agit d'un ensemble de fils en position verticale. Avec l'accentuation oxytone d'autre part ils survivent comme noms masculins en *-mōn* type *keu'mon* 'lachine', *tēmōn* 'tas'. Ici encore une valeur originellement collective est plausible : ainsi *tēmōn* désigne un ensemble de choses déposées. À côté poétique *k'erma*. Il est tentant d'admettre que *k'ermon* 'hiver' est issu d'un collectif \**k'ermon* 'serie de tempêtes d'hiver', 'période de l'hiver'. De même *leimon* 'prairie humide' presuppose un neutre \**leima* (cf *limnē* 'nappe d'eau stagnante', *leimaks* 'prairie'). Noter qu'à *priou* la graphie *to-so* *pe-mo* 'tant de semence' peut représenter non seulement *toson* *sperma* mais aussi *tōsos spermon*.
- 29 Dans la série PY Ia *a-mo-te-wo* est parallèle à *me-ri-te-wo* *meltiwox* 'gen sing de *meltiwox* 'chef de la production de miel', 'apiculteur' (= *me-ri-ma* 'miel' gen *meltiwox*). C'est pourquoi il est moins probable que *a-mo-te-wo* désigne celui qui combat sur un char. (Comparez anthroponyme *ku-ke-re-u* (§ 11)).
- 30 Voir Ventris-Chadwick 1973 335-498. R. 1967 129. L'adjectif sert d'épithète à *qe-ra-na* *k'erana* 'vase à eau chaude' (= *t'eromai* 'je me chauffe'). On a pensé que la décoration du vase comportait des dessins de roues. À *priou* on pourrait aussi penser à une certaine espèce de vases créés par un homme nommé *a-mo-te-u*.
- 31 Les grammairiens anciens les qualifient de *empericktika* 'noms exprimant la notion de contenu'. À notre avis ce suffixe *-ōn* peut bien remonter aux anciens collectifs du type *leimon* *k'ermon* (n° 28). Il figure aussi dans des toponymes comme *šikmon* 'champ de concombres'. Ainsi le toponyme mycénien *a-ka-si-jo-ne* (dat *ka-en-ei*) peut être interprété comme *Akantion* 'champ de chardons' (= *akantion* *akantion*).
- 32 Bien entendu le type attique *andron* peut également s'expliquer comme aboutissement phonétique de *andreon* (*en-ōō*).
- 33 La forme masculine de l'adjectif composé s'emploie aussi pour le féminin. Le mycénien utilise déjà l'adjectif verbal en *-to-* dans des composés déterminatifs ténocentriques (*talpurosa*) : type *a-ki-ti-to* *akatos* 'non cultivé' (§ 4). Il s'agit probablement d'une innovation : en général les composés déterminatifs sont rares en grec ancien (Risch 1981 111). Ainsi l'antonyme de *enetos* 'mortel' n'est pas \**ar-netos* mais *ar-malos* 'qui n'a pas

de mort, immortel, compose possessif (exocentrique, *bahuvrihi*) dont le second membre est le nom d'action *tanatos* 'mort'. Ce nom remonte à *\*t<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-eto-*, étant du même type que *nip<sup>h</sup>etos* 'neige' (Waanders 1974). Comparer *aspetos* 'indicible, immense' (*\*sek<sup>h</sup>-* 'raconter'). On est amené à conclure que le type *akitos* repose sur la réinterprétation du type *ap<sup>h</sup>atos* 'indicible, sans renom' originellement composé de *\*-p<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-eto-*, comme composé de l'adjectif verbal *p<sup>h</sup>atos* 'renomme' (< *\*p<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-to-*).

- 34 C'est pourquoi les interprétations *aram<sup>h</sup>otmena* 'muni de roues' et *anarm<sup>h</sup>atos* 'qui n'a pas de roues' sont incorrectes. En outre, il faut observer que l'élargissement *-t-* ne se trouve jamais dans les verbes dérivés de neutres en *-ma*. En réalité on trouve le type ancien *onoman<sup>h</sup>o* 'je nomme' < *\*onoman<sup>h</sup>vō* (*\*-m<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-yō*) et le type plus récent *onomaze<sup>h</sup>* 'onomatopée'. De même, les adjectifs composés du type *ak<sup>h</sup>tematos* 'qui n'a pas de biens' (< *\*ak<sup>h</sup>temal*) ne sont attestés qu'à partir du Ve siècle av. J.-C. Homère n'emploie que les types plus anciens *anaimon* 'qui n'a pas de sang' (*haima*) et *aspermov* 'qui n'a pas de semence, de postérité'. Voir R. 1976: 186-189, R. 1979b: 215-219.
- 35 Cf. plus tard *aupnos* 'sans sommeil' de *\*a<sup>h</sup>hupnos*. Le mycénien fournit *a-e-ti-to aleritos* 'qui n'a pas reçu l'arôme de la plante hertis'; cf. Lejeune 1971: 37-45.
- 36 L'élément *zero* de la racine est ancien: cf. *telugmenos* de *teuk<sup>h</sup>ō* 'je fabrique' *pep<sup>h</sup>ugmenos* de *p<sup>h</sup>eugō* 'je suis'. La forme relativement récente du parfait moyen a souvent le même sens que le parfait radical plus ancien (n. 13). Ainsi *pep<sup>h</sup>ugmenos* équivaut à *pep<sup>h</sup>eugov*. Par conséquent *p<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>ugmenos* peut équivoir à *\*p<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>ay pepoit<sup>h</sup>os* 'ayant confiance'.
- 37 L'élément *a-* du suffixe masculin *-ta* est un élargissement, dont l'origine est peu claire (cf. Risch 1974: 31-37). L'élargissement est absent devant le suffixe de présent *-vō* et devant le suffixe *-to-* des adjectifs d'appartenance. Ainsi, le mycénien *a-e-ge-si-jo hek<sup>h</sup> enos* 'adjectif' dérive de *a-e-ge-ta hek<sup>h</sup> etās* 'suivant', peut être membre de la suite du roi (plus tard *hepetās*). C'est pourquoi l'anthroponyme *a-mu-ta-jo* (n. 12) s'explique mieux comme dérivé de *\*Arm<sup>h</sup>ot<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>* que comme dérivé de *\*Arm<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>-tā<sup>h</sup>*.
- 38 Comparer l'anthroponyme *Harmon*. Chez Homère le nom patronymique *Harmonides* se réfère à un charpentier. L'adjectif *harmon* (cf. *harma* *a-mo*, § 10) survit dans le nom dérivé *harmonia* 'joint' (emploi concret), 'accord', 'contrat' (emploi social, métaphorique).
- 39 Le degré *e* qu'on trouve dans un mot comme *keur<sup>h</sup>mos* 'cachette' doit donc être dû à une adaptation relativement récente. On peut penser à l'influence de *keur<sup>h</sup>mon* (n. 28) et à la substitution de *keur<sup>h</sup>* à *\*kour<sup>h</sup>* dans la forme de parfait *kékeur<sup>h</sup>a* 'je tiens'.



- cache. Quelques noms en *-mo-* sont barytons, par exemple *pōmos* 'sort, destin' *hormos* 'chaîne, collier' (racine *ser-* 'enfiler, lier en file' cf. *hormos* 'lacet'). L'accentuation barytone pourrait s'expliquer par le modèle des noms masculins barytons à suffixe *-o-* du type *moros* 'portion, sort, destin' ou des neutres en *-ma* (cf. *herma* 'pendant de l'oreille' < \**ser-ma*).
- 40 L'accentuation barytone pourrait s'expliquer par l'influence du type masculin *lok'os* 'embuscade' ou du type neutre *lek'os* 'lit' (cf. n. 39).
- 41 Dans *krumós* 'froid, frisson' < \**krusmós*, en revanche il s'agit de la racine *krua-* (degré zéro), cf. *krustallos* 'glace'.
- 42 Comparer la restauration de *s* dans *as-menos* 'content de s'être sauvé' (*as-* < \**qs-*, degré zéro de *nes-* 'sauver'), voir R. 1987 : 542.
- 43 On peut ajouter *harmé* 'jonction, cicatrice' (cf. *harmos*) et *hormos* 'mouillage, lieu où les navires sont mis à l'eau' (cf. *horme*).
- 44 La même observation vaut pour *harmé* en face de l'aotiste sigmatique \**ersa* (voir n. 8 cf. *orsa* chez Homère).
- 45 Avec degré *os* cf. \**korsmos* ou *s* constituant originellement le segment final de la racine elle-même (§ 16).
- 46 Après Homère, on trouve *drumov*, avec *u* long emprunté à *drus*.
- 47 De la même façon, *luk'nos* 'lampe' s'explique à partir d'un adjectif \**luknos* dérivé du nom neutre \**lewk'os*, qui survit en avestique (*raocah-* 'lumière'). D'autre part latin *luna* 'lune' remonte à \**loukna*, forme qui comporte le degré *o* de la racine (cf. russe *luna* 'lune').
- 48 Comparer le nom masculin *odos* 'odeur' (gén. *odōris*) du latin archaïque. La voyelle longue *ō* s'explique par la généralisation de la voyelle longue résultant de la contraction préhistorique du type *antēmodes* qui a l'odeur de fleurs ( *antēmon* 'fleur') ou *-od-* est l'aboutissement phonétique de \**-o-od-* < \**-o-hēd-*. Le degré zéro \**hēd-s* > \**ods* < *-os*, se retrouve dans *oxp'rainoman* 'je perçois une odeur'.
- 49 La voyelle longue *ā* s'explique par la contraction préhistorique \**-ā-* < \**-u-ā-* < \**-o-hjer-* (cf. n. 48).
- 50 Dans la série PY Ta, les composés du type *puktohek'ēs* qui a un support en bois (duel *pu-ko-so e-ke-e*) se rapportent au nom simple *hek'ma* (instr. plur. *e-ka-ma-pi*, § 16). Pour les neutres en *-os* et les composés en *-es* voir R. 1983.
- 51 Exemple *pu-ko-so, e-ke-e* (n. 50) la virgule répondant au tiret vertical qui exprime la frontière entre deux mots. Pour *en(n)ewopeza* à neuf pieds (fém.) on trouve les deux graphies *e-ne-wo-pe-za* et *e-ne-wo, pe-za*. Sous ce rapport, il est intéressant d'observer qu'en KN R 1815, il y a une rature après *ka-ka*. Il semble donc que le scribe ait d'abord écrit *ka-ka-re* mais qu'ensuite, il ait préféré la graphie en deux mots. Bien entendu,

cette graphie est un peu maladroite puisque la voyelle finale de *ka-ka* représente déjà le segment initial du second membre

- 52 C'est pourquoi le vocatif de *Eurup'ron* est *Eurup'ron* non pas \**Euru-p'ron*. De même dans les formes du verbe fini, l'accent ne se trouve jamais avant la syllabe finale du préverbe ou avant l'augment type *per-t'es*, *par-t'sk'an*. Si le neutre du type *k'alkers* est *k'alkeres* non pas \**k'alkères*, c'est qu'au niveau synchronique la voyelle longue \**a* (n° 49) représente à la fois la voyelle finale virtuelle du premier membre (*k'alka-*) et la voyelle initiale du second membre. De même l'accentuation d'une forme verbale comme *apage-att* *apege* s'explique du fait que la voyelle longue représente à la fois l'augment (temporel) et la voyelle initiale du thème verbal (contraction préhistorique \**hie-hjeg-* — \**a-ag-* — *ag-*). Bien entendu l'accentuation du type *eneres euodes* (originellement \**hisu-hjeres*, — *hiedes*) est analogue du type *k'alkeres*, *ant'emodes*.
- 53 L'oxytonaison se trouve même dans le type *p'ere svakēs* 'qui porte un boucher' composé dont le premier membre est un verbe qui portait originellement l'accent (cf skr *Trasā-dasyu-* 'qui fait trembler les ennemis').
- 54 Homère se sert aussi de *ēumares* (même sens) adjectif oxyton dont le vocalisme *a* pourrait être eolien.
- 55 Comparer aussi *ar'ron* 'articulation' membre (du corps)', nom qui au point de vue synchronique comporte le suffixe — *ra-* mais qui pourrait s'expliquer à partir d'un vieux nom neutre \**hērt'-r* bâti sur un thème \**hjer-t'-*.
- 56 Ainsi le grec a *ent-* dans le nom neutre *entos* 'pièce d'équipement' (myc *e-le-do-mo entesdomos* 'celui qui construit des pièces d'équipement') vis-à-vis de *en-* dans le nom neutre \**enar* dont le pluriel *enara* 'armes enlevées à l'ennemi abattu' se trouve chez Homère. Les verbes dérivés *entuo* et *entiūō* 'j'équipe, je prépare' se comparent à *aruo* et *aruiō* tant au point de vue morphologique qu'au point de vue sémantique.
- 57 D'habitude on fait dériver *aruiō* du nom d'action *aruius* 'ordre, arrangement', mais rien n'empêche de partir d'un vieux nom neutre \**arui-* \**hjort-u* (cf *dukrio* 'je pleure de *duku* larme').
- 58 En grec le type *traiūno* 'j'encourage' fonctionne comme dérivé factitif de l'adjectif *traius* 'courageux'. Il est donc possible que *aruiō* soit le dérivé d'un adjectif \**aruius* \**h<sub>2</sub>rti-ū-*). — De même, le verbe moyen *aruiamai* 'je gagne, j'obtiens' pourrait être dérivé d'un adjectif \**arius* 'muni' < \**h<sub>2</sub>r-u-s*. En effet les plus anciens présents grecs en — *ai-mi* (originellement \**-neu-mi*) remontent en principe à des verbes factitifs ou l'infixe nasal s'insérait entre la racine et le suffixe — *ew-i-u-* de l'adjectif type hittite *aš-n-u* 'rendre bon' < \**h<sub>2</sub>s-n-ew-* (cf \**h<sub>2</sub>s-ū-s* > *eus* 'bon'). L'actif \**arnumi*

doit donc avoir signifié 'je munis quelqu'un de quelque chose' le moyen *arumai* 'je me munis de quelque chose'. Dans cette hypothèse bien entendue il faut admettre que la construction du verbe a changé. L'accusatif du complément direct s'est substituée à l'instrumental. Comparer la construction de *doromai* originellement *doi mai tina tiri* 'je dote quelqu'un de quelque chose' puis également *doromai tiri ti* 'je donne quelque chose à quelqu'un' (l'influence de la construction du verbe *dudomi* 'je donne')

59. L'actif *\*arteo* n'est pas attesté. Il s'agit du type *p'oreo* dérivé à valeur intensive fréquentative 'ce qui invite' à partir de *\*harteý-e-o-*. Pour l'actif on trouve *arte-ó* (cf. *komizo* verbe qui a fini par supplanter *komeo* 'je soigne') forme qui pourrait être dérivé de l'adverbe *arti*.
60. D'après les lois phonétiques on attendrait *\*arvi* en ionien-attique si bien qu'il faut admettre la restauration analogique du *r*. La même restauration se trouve dans *arvov* qui s'adapte 'juste prêt' et *pari* (terme arithmétique). L'aboutissement phonétique se rencontre en revanche dans *anarvov* qui ne s'adapte pas 'ennemi, étrange, indigne'. La réinterprétation de *arti* comme *ar-u* peut avoir servi d'amorce à la création des adverbes en *-ti* dérivés de verbes en *-zo* type *onomazo* 'en mentionnant le nom' de *onomazo* 'je nomme, je mentionne'. L'accentuation oxytone pourrait s'expliquer par l'influence des adverbes du type *anidrotel* 'sans suer'.
61. Pour le degré zéro de la racine, comparer *kratestos* 'le plus fort' - *\*krt-*. L'accentuation récessive du superlatif grec peut s'expliquer par l'influence du comparatif.
62. En KN So 4437 la graphie *a-ro-jo* pourrait s'expliquer par une espèce de contamination. Après le génitif singulier *pte-re-wa* *ptelewas* 'de bois d'orme' on attendrait la forme *arvohav*, pour laquelle les graphies *\*a-ro-jo* et *\*a-ri-jo-o* seraient correctes.
63. Pour le degré *e* de la racine, comparer ion. *kresson* 'plus fort' de *\*krét-yos-*. La coïncidence phonétique des deux degrés apophoniques dans *arvos* et *aristos* explique l'introduction du degré *e* dans le superlatif *megistos* 'le plus grand', attesté dans l'anthroponyme féminin *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta* *Megistokratá*. Le degré zéro *\*mgh-* *\*aga-* (cf. l'adjectif neutre *\*megh-* *\*mega*) survit au premier membre de composés comme *agakleés* 'qui a une grande renommée' (R. 1980 : 196).
64. Pour le degré zéro tant de la racine que du suffixe, comparer *puki-médès* 'qui a des conseils solides, intelligent' (R. 1980 : 196).
65. Bien entendu, l'interprétation de beaucoup d'anthroponymes est incertaine. Il n'y a pas d'interprétation satisfaisante pour l'anthroponyme *e-ri-ta-qi-jo*.





- 66 L'adjectif est derive de \*h<sub>1</sub>es- 'es' 'être là'. Il doit avoir exprimé originellement la notion de 'disponible et utilisable' (qui est là pour quelqu'un. R. 1985a: 163-164).
- 67 Comme dans ces formes a vocalisme radical *a* et *e* le degré zéro originel n'était plus perceptible, le grec a pu créer des présents comportant le degré *e* de la racine: *p<sub>h</sub>legō* 'je brûle'.
- 68 Cf. *Iliade* 4.362-363 *tauta d' opist' en aressōmet'* et *ti kakon nun éretai* 'plus tard nous réglerons cette affaire à l'amiable, si quelque mot fâcheux a été dit'. Noter la présence de *kakos* 'mauvais' 'fâcheux' dans le contexte.
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# A Folktale Complex and old Mythology

Sukumar Sen

## I

Domestic unhappiness of young persons who are competent amiable and good, finally removed by the blessing from a supernatural person or agency is the central theme of not a few folktales in some languages rich in such a literature. I have noticed twelve such tales in seven languages which in spite of wide distribution form a group, and they appear to have originated from an old myth or two. As the stories are probably not all of them well known, I recount them briefly. The order is according to the date of the collection or the first appearance in print (either in original or in translation). The stories are in German, Armenian, Persian and Indo-Aryan and II languages.

1. From A. J. and W. Grimm: *Frau Holle*, English translation (1826), 61.

A widow had two daughters, one pretty and good and the other ugly and bad. The second, perhaps the younger, however, was the pet of the mother. The first girl had to do the domestic chores. One day as she was spinning cotton while seated on a bench on the roadside, her fingers tired from the heavy work and the thread spoiled the spindle. As she was dipping it in a well, the spindle dropped into it. She was asked angrily by her mother to get down into the well and recover the spindle. She went down the well but found there in stead of deep water a sunlit meadow and a cottage near a wood. She went into the cottage and was asked by a piece of bread on the oven to take it out before it was burnt and spoiled. She promptly took the bread out of the oven. Then she was passing by an apple tree laden with ripe fruits. The tree asked the girl to shake it in order to relieve it of the heavy burden of the fruits. She obeyed. Then she came to a small cottage and met an old woman sitting at the door. She was welcomed and asked by the old woman to stay on as her maid. Her special task would be making the bed and shake the dust out of it every morning at the door, so that the feathers may fly away and thereby the good people down below would think it was snowing. After some time the girl wanted to



return home. The old woman agreed. The spindle was given back to her as well as a golden dress and a shower of gold fell on her as she was coming out of the door of the cottage. When she arrived home a cock cried in welcome.

The mother now wanted that her pet daughter also would have the same experience and profit, but as she was essentially a bad girl she did not pay heed to the cry of the bread, the request of the tree nor did she obey the old woman. She received from the old woman only a shower of black pitch which made her uglier. When she came back home the cock cried in derision.

2. From Folktales of Germany edited by Kurt Ranke and translated by Lotte Baumann (1966). *The Cruel Stepmother* (recorded about 1860 in the Upper Palatinate, Bavaria.) C. 2

A poor man's wife died leaving him a son and a daughter. A woman induced the children to appeal to the father to marry her so that she would feed them plenty. The man married the woman. She was good to the children for a day or two and then she was tired of them and asked her husband to take them away from home.

The man took them to the forest and left them there but the girl was clever and she could pick their way back home. Their return enraged the step-mother still more. The man again took them away to deeper forest and left them there. This time they could not trace their way back home. They wandered in the forest and came to a spring. The boy wanted to drink from it but was cautioned by the spring not to drink from it as it would make him all black. Then they came to another spring which when approached invited the boy to drink from it so that he would become all golden hued. The boy drank from it and he became a golden stag wearing a ribbon of silk.

They made their quarter in the hollow of a beech tree and was fed daily by the Holy Virgin. There was a castle near by. The Lord of the castle met the girl with the golden stag and married her. They were brought to the castle. The girl did not part with the stag.

Now the girl fell ill. She was nursed by a girl who looked much like her and who liked to take her place as the mistress of the castle. She threw the girl out of the window at night and the Holy Virgin caught her up and kept her in her cloak. The nurse now posed as the sick girl and her mother was brought in to nurse her.

The girl who posed as the sick mistress of the castle now asked

her 'husband' to kill the stag and cook and serve her his lung and liver. The stag was brought over on the bridge of the castle and as the butcher was going to kill he cried out:

"Sister mine, deep in the Lake,  
You and I are forsaken,  
My lung and liver shall be taken

From the depth of the water of the moat came out the voice of the sister in reply,

"Brother dear high on the bridge  
You and I are forsaken,  
Your lung and liver shall be taken

The killing of the stag was instantly stopped. The lord of the castle came to the bridge to inquire and he saw his lawful wife floating in the water of the moat. She was pulled out of water and then she told her husband what had happened. She was brought to the castle and the evil girl was burned at the stake.

1. Lal Behari Day: Folk tales of Bengal (1983). 'The Bald Wife' English (from Bengali unrecorded) 81

A man had two wives. The junior was the favourite. She had black long and profuse hair. The elder wife on the other hand was almost bald. The man was away from home for some days. One day the younger wife asked the other to pick lice off her hair. While doing so the bald lady inadvertently pulled out one or two strands of hair. This made the younger lady angry and she drove her senior out of home telling her not to return. As there was nowhere to go she made straight for the forest. On the way she saw a cotton plant in a thicket of weeds needing care and she stopped to clear the weeds and trim the plant. Next she came to a plantain tree also in similar plight requiring care and she cleared the undergrowth round it. Next she saw a brahminical bull in a shed which was in a mess, needing clearing and she swept it clean and gave some grass to the bull. Lastly she saw a *Tulsi* (basil) plant and watered it and made her reverence. Finally she came to a cottage in front of which a *muni* (sage) sat in deep meditation. She stood by quietly until the sage broke his meditation and took cognizance of her. She asked him, told him the cause of her leaving home. He told her to go to the pond near by and take a plunge. She did so and her appearance was instantly changed. She became a fine lady with long black luxurious hair. The sage then bade her to go into the hut and choose

as a present any one of the caskets stored there. She went in and chose the smallest one which when opened later was found to be full of inexhaustible pearls and precious stones. As she was returning homeward she received gifts—the blessing of conjugal love from the *Tulsi* plant, two cowrie shell bangles (which when shaken would always produce cash) from the horns of the bull, a leaf from the plantain plant which would instantly produce abundant food whenever required, and the cotton plant gave her a branch which when shaken would produce all kind of woven stuff, cotton or silk. After her return home she won the love of her husband and became the lady of the house and the junior wife became her maid.

4. Charles Swynnerton, 'Lal Badshah, the Red King; or, the Two Little Princesses' (Indian Nights Entertainment, 1892). The story was collected from Upper Indus. 1

The wife of a king died leaving two beautiful young daughters. The king married again, mainly for the sake of the children. But the step-mother did not like the girls. Her dislike grew day by day and she began to starve them by giving bad food. This was, however, compensated by the dead mother. At her grave, which the girls took much care of, good food was always available for them. So they were growing up healthy and fit. This drew the notice of the step-mother who set her pet cat to watch the activity of the two girls. The cat gave her the information.

The step-mother then feigned serious illness which could be recovered only by digging up the grave and scattering away the bones. It was done. But a fine plum tree grew up on the spot, and its fruits gave the girls the same nourishment as before. Soon the watch cat reported the matter to her lady. Again serious illness was feigned and the plum tree was destroyed.

But the step-mother now could not stand the sight of girls. She commanded her husband to dispose of them. The king took the girls to a deep forest and left them there.

The helpless girls roamed about in search of their father and they came to a high rock. Near the rock there was a castle. They came to the castle and were met by an ogress who took kindly to them. She contrived to hide them from the grasp of his man-eating son during his presence in the night. On the morning she asked them to go elsewhere.

They came back to the forest and took their lodge in a tall and



leafy tree. The elder girl kept house and in the spare time sew silk. The younger sister kept a herd of deer for the supply of milk.

On one day a young king named Lal Badshah (i.e. Red King) came there with his party to hunt. He killed a partridge and asked his minister to get it cooked. The minister while searching for fire to cook the game saw a column of smoke rising up at a distance. It was the smoke from the oven of the sisters' lodge. The minister came there and as he was cooking he chanced to cast his gaze upward and see the elder princess sewing silk. The strange and beautiful sight stupefied him. He forgot the pot on the oven and the partridge was spoiled. At this the minister was terrified for the consequences and he wept. The princess took pity on him, came down and cooked a partridge for him and gave him some milk too for the repast of his master.

The king was pleased with the food. He wanted to know how the minister had managed it. But the latter would not tell him anything. The king was highly displeased with his stubbornness and on his repeated refusal ordered the minister to be put to death.

The minister opened his mouth at the last moment when he was just about to be killed. The king pardoned him and at once came to the tree and found the beautiful girl there on the tree. He married her without any delay and took her with him and went back home.

The younger sister was not there when all this was happening and she could not be informed of the fate of her sister. The sagacious elder princess had taken one precaution for such a contingency. She had given her sister a rose in perpetual bloom which when fading would indicate a danger for her self. The rose now began to fade. So the younger princess hastened home, but found it empty. The elder sister had taken a step for guiding the younger sister in following her trail, she had cast mustard seeds all along as she had proceeded on her way to the king's palace. The younger princess found them and traced her sister to the city. She could now easily guess what had happened to her sister.

She built a cottage by the bank of a brook running outside the city limits, and she kept watch for any unusual happening. On one day she found a newborn baby lying abandoned on the bank of the brook. It was the new born baby of her sister. Her rivals in the palace had quickly substituted a basket of coal for the baby and they showed the basket as containing what had been delivered by the new queen. The king was angry and considering her a witch

threw the queen into the dungeon

The younger princess picked up the baby and took it home and reared it fondly. She soon came to know it was her nephew.

The baby was now four or five years old. Noticing that the king often passed by their cottage so that his horse would have a drink from the brook, she built for her nephew a wooden horse and told him to take it to the brink of the brook and ask it to drink water whenever the king would be doing so. The boy acted as he was told.

The king was curious at this behaviour of the boy. He followed the boy to their cottage. Standing outside and eavesdropping he came to know the identity of the two inmates of the cottage. Enlightenment came to him. The queen was reunited with her husband and son. The younger princess was comfortably settled.

- 5 Alice Elizabeth Dracott, *Simla Village Tales* (1906) 'The Story of the Black Cow', English (from Pahari unrecorded). H

The son of a Brahmin and his half sister herded cattle in the field. The step-mother gave the boy only some bread prepared from wheat largely mixed with ashes as his ration. A black cow from their herd took pity on the boy and daily fed him with her milk. His step-mother came to know of this surreptitious feeding and she was determined to kill the cow. The cow knowing it, ran away with the boy into the forest. There was a deep hole somewhere in the forest. The cow used to pour milk into the hole daily and the milk was drunk by the serpent and the bull that deep down held up together the universe. On one day the serpent came up and blessed the boy, and henceforth the boy shone as gold and wore golden apparel. A fish one day gobbled a strand of his golden hair as he was bathing in the river. The fish was caught and sold to the house of the king. The daughter of the king saw the golden hair and she was eager to meet the person it had belonged to. The boy was ultimately found and subsequently married to the princess. The cow was forgotten for some time. One day the boy was served with clotted milk which happened to bring back to him the memory of the beloved cow. He forthwith went to the place in the forest where they had last been together. There he now found only a few scattered bones. The boy wept over the bones and in grief he was about to do away with himself when lo! the cow appeared before him. After this happy reunion the two finally went their own way.

- 6 Daksinaranjan Mitra-Majumdar's *Thākurmār Jhul* (1907) 'Sukhu āṛ Dukhu', Bengali. B 2

A weaver had two daughters by his two wives. When the weaver had died the junior wife took possession of her husband's cash and property and turned the senior and her daughter out of home. Driven out of home the two now lived in distress. On one day the girl was guarding cotton wool drying in the sun when a blast of the wind carried away the cotton. The girl wept and the wind asked her to follow. As she was following the cotton blown away by the wind she was called on the wayside first by a cow to sweep her shed clean then by a plantain tree to free it from the climbing creepers next by a *sheora* tree to weed out the undergrowth and finally by a horse to supply it fodder. She obediently did all that she was told. Following the wind she ultimately came to a white mansion where in the front terrace sat a fine old lady, the mother of the moon spinning cotton. The girl begged the lady to give back her cotton wool. But the lady asked her to be her guest and told her to take two plunges in the tank and then come in and pick up suitable clothes for herself and partake of some food. She took two plunges which turned her into a beautiful girl. She was modest in her choice of clothes and food. Before leaving she was told to choose for herself a casket from the store room, and she took the smallest. As she went back she collected the gifts from those she had served on her way in. The horse gave her a colt, the *sheora* tree a pot of cash, the plantain tree a bunch of golden fruit and the cow a heifer. She came home, to her mother happily. The casket was opened at night and her future husband came out of it.

On knowing the good fortune of the step daughter the junior wife now made her own daughter follow the same routine. But the girl was selfish and uncivil to all. She returned home much uglier than before but with a huge basket. When opened at night the basket produced a big serpent that gobbled her up.

- 7 C. Downing Armenian Folk-tales, parables and Rhymes (1972) 'The Fair Maiden Sunbeam and the Serpent'. English (from an Armenian original collected in 1912). A 1.

A king had no child. One day he saw in the garden a mother serpent playing with her young and he prayed to God that he may be granted an issue even if it be a serpent. God heard his prayer and in time his queen gave birth to a serpent. The king did not discard it. It was treated as his son. The serpent however grew up into a dragon in course of a week and he would not accept any food. One day a young girl happened to pass by the serpent and he suddenly caught and devoured her. From that day the serpent had to be supped daily with a young girl as his ration. On one



day as the king's soldiers were out in search for the human food for the serpent prince they came by a beautiful girl with golden hair sitting disconsolately under a tree. They got hold of her and took her to the serpent and dropped her down from the top of the cage. As soon as she touched the bottom the girl accosted the serpent asking him to welcome her as Sunbeam from God. The prince on hearing the name of God at once cast off his reptilian skin and stood before her a splendid young man. The king and his people were overjoyed. Now as the prince wanted to marry the girl the king soon joined them in wedlock. One day the king asked his daughter-in-law about her family and parentage. Then the girl gave him the following accounts:

She was an orphan girl living with her step-mother and was compelled to do heavy domestic work. She had to spin a bushel of wool daily while she would be herding the cattle in the fields. She was given only a half of a piece of bread as her ration. On one day as she was spinning wool while seated on a rock by the side of a hill the rock suddenly opened a crack and her bobbin slipped from her hand and disappeared into it. On looking through the crevice she could see an old woman whom she begged to hand out her bobbin. The woman replied that she was old and infirm and so could not reach up to the crevice. She told the girl to come through the door of the cave which opened from the ravine. The girl got down into the ravine, saw the door and entered the cave-dwelling of the old lady. She found her bobbin and was turning back when she found that the door had disappeared. The old woman however reassured her that she would be let out after she had some talk with her. She first asked the girl to take a broom and sweep the floor of the house. When she had done it the lady put up to her the question: "Whose house is cleaner, mine or yours?" She replied: "Yours." Next she asked the girl to brush her hair. When it was done she asked: "whose hair is cleaner, mine or your mother's?" "Your grandmother," she replied. There was water running along the walls of the cave and the streams ran into a small pool. Then the old lady went to sleep placing her head on the knees of the girl. She was to be awakened when the black and the red water had ceased to flow and the yellow water would be flowing. She did as was told. The old lady wakened and suddenly she seized the girl by the feet and plunged her head into the yellow water, and her hair became the colour of gold. The old lady then opened the door and bade her adieu.

The girl came out and to avoid her step-mother's jealousy wanted to cover her golden head before returning home. She saw a shepherd



and asked him to kill a sheep for their feed. The shepherd killed a sheep and cooked its meat and they ate. Then she took the stomach of the sheep and wore it as a skull cap completely covering her top. When the day was drawing to a close and the skin cap was dry she returned home. But her golden hair could not be kept hidden for long from the eyes of her step-mother and she had to tell her everything that had happened to her. The woman now wanted such golden hair for her own daughter. So the operation was repeated on the next day. The half-sister however was an unkind and unruly girl. She did not do what the old lady told her to do and she did give impolite answers to the questions put to her. She was therefore thrown into the black pool and came out black and ugly. When she returned home the step-mother became angrier and turned her step-daughter out of home. So she was helplessly sitting at the foot of the tree when the king's men caught her and brought her to the palace.

8. Ibid. 'The Red Cow', English (from Armenian collected in 1914)  
A2

A shepherd's wife died leaving a son and a daughter and their pet a red cow. After some time the shepherd married again mainly for looking after the children. But the step-mother did not like them in the least. The shepherd soon aware of it engaged his children in tending the flock in the fields so that they may avoid the wrath of their step-mother. The red cow took pity on them and told them to run about and play while she would watch the sheep.

The step-mother did not give them sufficient food but the cow gave them enough milk for sustenance. The woman gave birth to a daughter. She grew up to be an ugly and stout child and when she was ten years old she accompanied her half-brother and sister to the field to tend the flock. The red cow gave milk to her also but it tasted bitter to her and she could not consume it. The step-mother was puzzled to note that her own daughter in spite of overfeeding was getting uglier and scrawnier while the other two children on starving ration were flourishing. Soon she came to learn from her daughter that the other two children were fed milk by the red cow. She was determined to kill the cow. The cow guessed her intention and she told the two children of it and instructed them to get a cupful of her blood and smear their faces with it so that they would shine like gold. She also told them to collect her bones and hooves and bury them under the manger in the shed. She then took them to an old woman dwelling in a mountain cave who promised to take care of the children thereafter. On returning home the cow told the



children to cut off one of her horns and keep it with them. Whenever they would feel hungry or thirsty they could suck it to get nourishment and satisfaction. The cow was killed and the children did as they were told.

One day the family was invited to a royal wedding. The step mother and her daughter went there leaving the orphans all alone at home. As soon as they were gone there was a moo of the red cow coming out from the shed and at the same time the old woman of the mountain cave appeared and brought from under the manger beautiful clothes for the children to wear for the royal ceremony. So they also attended the function but they came away just before the return of the party of the step mother. On the second day of the ceremony the orphans came home as on the day before. But this time as they were returning the girl had dropped one of her silver slippers near a pond in the royal garden. It was found next morning by the stable boy of the prince and he took it to his master. It was a girl's slipper and the prince was keen in finding its owner. She was at last located and was duly married to the prince. The old woman of the mountain cave managed it all.

Even then the step mother did not drop her evil intentions. She invited her step daughter for a meal at her home. When the princess came she was kept imprisoned by the step mother who clothed her own daughter in the robes of the princess and sent her to the palace to impersonate her half sister. But the prince found her out almost at once. The princess was rescued and the mother and her daughter were killed. The orphans were now free of all troubles.

9. D. I. R. Lomner and I. O. Lomner, *Persian Tales* (1919) 'Little Fatima'. English (from unrecorded Persian collected from Kerman). P1

The school teacher (female) of a young girl induced her pupil to bring about the death of her mother by pushing her into a big vat of oil. She then contrived to become the girl's step mother. A daughter was born to her. The older girl then fell into her disavour. (The dead mother had come back to her as a yellow cow). She had to tend the cattle, card and spin cotton and do other chores. One day some cotton wool was blown away by a gust of the wind and fell into a well. The girl followed it into the bottom of the well where she met a demoness. The demoness was pleased with her *salvum* and she commanded the girl to do the following: (i) to crack her head, (ii) to break all the water pots, and (iii) to pull down the house. The girl had been warned by the yellow cow to do the

opposite of what the demoness might tell her, and she so did the opposite of what she was told to do. She combed the demoness's hair neatly, filled all the empty water pots, and swept the floors of the house clean. She was then asked by the demoness to go into the treasure room and take for herself whatever she liked. She however took only her piece of cotton and nothing else. As she was going out the demoness called the white cloud to give her a shake up. She was thoroughly shaken up but nothing fell out from her: she stuck to her piece of cotton. When she was up near the top of the well the demoness called the black cloud to give the girl a thorough shake up, but nothing happened. The demoness then called out a blessing to the girl: "May a moon grow on your forehead and a star on your chin." The girl came home but kept her face covered. Soon the step-mother came to know of the moon and the star on the face of the girl and then she wanted her own daughter to be similarly blessed. But the other girl behaved outrageously and she returned branded with a donkey's ears on her forehead and a donkey's tail growing from her chin.

The king's daughter was to be married. The step-mother and her daughter went up to the king's palace to see the fun. The other girl was left at home with the task of separating peas and lentils from a mixed heap and of filling up a jar with tears. The yellow cow helped her with the tasks and the girl soon found time to go to the palace and see the fun. The cow supplied her with the proper dress and shoes. Before the function was over the girl had to reach home before the arrival of her step-mother and her sister. In her haste she lost a shoe at the palace. The son of the king found it and sent out emissaries to find the girl who owned it. When an emissary came to the house of the girl her step-mother kept the girl hidden in an oven under cover. But a cock perched on it revealed the girl. She was married to the prince.

10. D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian Tales* (1919).  
 'How Fatima Killed Her Mother'. English (from unrecorded Persian collected from the Bakhtiari nomads). P2.

A tattooer (woman) induced a young girl to kill her mother in an ingenious way. She was to request her mother to pick for her a pomegranate from a high branch of the tree in their garden, and when she would be plucking the fruit the girl would shout from below telling that her mother's younger brother was dead. The sudden delivery of the bad news made the lady nervous and unsteady. She fell down from the tree and died. The tattooer very soon managed to become the step-mother, and in course of time two

daughters were born to her. The dead mother told her daughter in a dream to get a yellow cow from her uncle. The cow helped the girl. When the step-mother came to know it she feigned illness and was advised by the physician (who was in collusion with her) to have blood bath for cure. So the cow was killed. The girl collected the bones and kept them. On a second dream from her mother she proceeded as in the Kermani version. But the demon here was male. He put two tasks and two questions to her: (i) Comb my hair and say whether it is better than your mother's, and (ii) string tight the waterskins and say whether they are better than your mother's. She did as she was told and gave polite replies to the questions. The demon then lay down to sleep, placing his head on her lap and asking to be awakened when the black cloud would pass and the white cloud would appear. He was awakened in time and he was pleased with the girl. He gave her blessings, and made a gift of a pair of gold slippers. As she was returning home wearing the slippers she lost a slipper on the way. It was recovered by a prince who had it traced to its owner, and then he married her.

It so happened that on one day the princess was bathing in the same pool in a forest where her step-sisters were also bathing. They caught hold of her by her locks and made her fast at the root of a tree growing near the water of the pool. Soon a tiger came there and devoured her, sparing only a single drop of blood. From this drop of blood sprang up a stout reed which was cut down by a shepherd and made into a whistling pipe. The prince heard the pipe as if it was singing the sad fate of his wife, and he took it from the shepherd and gave it to his infant son to play. In the meantime one of the step-sisters had managed to become the substitute of her dead half-sister. The playing of the pipe annoyed her and she took it away from the child and threw it in to a jar. Soon the mother of the child came out of the jar in the presence of her husband. The step-sisters were put to death.

11. Kunja Behari Das, *Loka gaṭpa Saṁcayana* (Bhubaneswar, 1964, p. 618 ff). 'Sunā Jharanā' (literally the Golden Shower) Oriya (collected by Gopal Chandra Praharaja in 1918 from Nilgiri near Balasore, Orissa).

A king had two sons and a daughter. The queen who was dearly loved by her husband died. AFTER Sometime the king married again. The new queen was a very beautiful lady. At first she liked the step-children and looked after them. But when a son was born to her she began to lose interest in her step-children, and gradually her indifference turned in to neglect and maltreatment. Finally she



could not stand the sight of them and she sent them away escorted by a maid who was instructed to have them killed. The king was told that the children had gone to visit their mother's people.

The maid made no attempt to kill the children. She left them in the depth of a forest and came away to report to the queen that the children were no more.

When it was night the children laid themselves down in the grass under a tree and fell asleep. At midnight a sage (*rshi*) came there. He took pity on them and gave them his blessing in concrete form. He gave to the boys a golden deer (*mryā*, 'cow?') and to the girl a diamond ring with two facets. The golden deer would supply anything desired and the diamond would indicate when a facet would get dark, that either of her brothers was in great danger. The golden deer enabled them to settle there in comfort.

Sometime afterward a forest ranger (*banuyā*) saw them and this report reached the ears of their step-mother. She sent a witch to do harm to them. She came to them and told them of the wonderful golden spring that was there high up a steep mountain. The elder brother was at once tempted to go up there. Before he came to the spring he met a sage (*rshi*). The sage told him not to go up to the spring. But the boy would not listen to him. The sage then told him that the spring was in a temple guarded by four serpents which could be made inactive only by one holding some leaves of a *veṇā* plant which stood nearby. Moreover there was a bird perched on the top of the temple. The bird talks like a man and asks questions. But one must not make any reply. If he does so he would turn into stone. The elder boy did not pay heed to the warning of the sage and did not take the precautions. He was turned into stone as soon he had given a reply to the bird.

The sister knew from her ring, one of its facets turning dark, that her brother was in danger. The younger boy then went up in search of the brother. He met the sage and was warned by him as his brother had been. He too did not take heed to the warnings of the sage and fared as his brother.

The sister now knew that both her brothers were in extreme danger. She went up herself and met the sage. The sage gave her the same warnings. She however carefully followed his instructions. She went up to the temple, subdued the snakes and had drenched herself in the golden shower. She gave no reply to the talking bird. The bird then told her to take a feather off it and with it touch

the two stones lying nearby. She did so and her brothers at once come back to life.

The king was out ahunting. He happened to meet the children in their forest home. He took them back home. He heard their tale. The queen was executed in the traditional manner. The daughter was married to a desirable young man and the elder son was installed as the crown prince.

12. Ralf Tragers. A Comparative study of a Bengali Folktale (Calcutta, 1966, APP-3) 'Kuku Mata' English (from Bengali from a Muslim lady, Tarakeswar District Hooghly, West Bengal.) B-3

There were two young step-sisters in a family. The elder was an orphan. She had to do the chores. They had a cow that gave milk to sustain her. The step-mother came to know of it and wanted to do away with the cow. She feigned illness and a dishonest physician (as in P-2) prescribed for her cure a bath in the blood of the cow. The cow was killed and the girl collected her bones, the halter and the peg as previously instructed by the cow. According to instruction of the cow she went afield and placed the bones at the corners of a square field and put the halter and the peg in the centre. On the next day she found there a fine house standing with a garden around and she would always find ready meal there. One day as she was coming away from the house she met an old woman sitting by the roadside. The woman asked the girl to pick lice from her head and when that was done she wanted to have some sleep, laying her head on the lap of the girl who was told to wake her up at the time of prayer (*namaz*). She did as she was told. The woman was pleased with her and gave her the blessing that pearls would fall when she would weep and gems would fall when she would laugh and she gave her a pair of golden slippers to wear. Her step-mother came to know of it and she would have the same blessings for her own daughter also, but as the latter acted contrary to the bidding of the woman she returned home an ugly girl producing insects and worms when she laughed and wept and dropping cowdung as she stepped.

The girl one day lost a slipper and that slipper was traced to her. She was married to the king's son who had fallen in love with her slipper. The step-mother on the first opportunity put a charm on the good girl's head and she was turned into a bird. The bad girl then became a substitute for the good and took her place in the palace as the wife of the prince. The bird perched on a tree in the front of the gate of the palace and daily would enquire whether

everybody had dined. The prince came to know about the bird and had it caught for him. As he was caressing the bird the charm fell off from the head and the girl regained her proper form and looks. The bad girl was cut up and cooked and her mother was presented with the head. (B 3)

## 2

The twelve tales summarized above are fairly widely distributed—from Germany in the west and Bengal and Orissa in the east. Two (G1, G2) come from Westphalia and Bavaria in West Germany, two (A1, A2) from Armenian speaking Anatolia and North West Persia, two from Iran—one from the province of Kerman (P1) and the other from the Bakhtiari people (P2), one (I) from Upper Indus, one (H) from Northern India (Himalayan region), three from Bengal and one from Orissa. Of the three Bengali versions one (B1) is from the district of Burdwan, another (B2) from the district of Murshidabad in West Bengal, and the third (B3) was collected recently (1961) from a Muslim lady from a village near Tarakeswar in the district of Hooghly in West Bengal. One story (V) was collected from Northeastern Orissa sometime in the second decade of the century.

The twelve stories, some of which may be taken apparently as variants, form a unit of a sort as they all have the central theme of oppression of a girl or woman or a girl and a boy or boys by a commanding woman at home and the deliverance coming from some superhuman agency. If we take into account the nature of the domestic activities involved, the stories would show roughly two obvious strata. One stratum can be called the agricultural and the other the pastoral. The agricultural stratum contains five stories: G 1-2, B-1, B 2 and O, and the pastoral also five stories: A1, A2, H and P 1-2. The remaining story (B3) shows the characteristics of the both. It had probably belonged originally to the Agricultural group but a superimposition of the other group has washed away some of the traces of the former.

The characteristic features of the main motifs of the stories belonging to the first stratum are as follows: (i) The deity is at the moment outside her residence (or cottage or shed). (ii) The person is helpful in domestic chore including tending plants and animals. (iii) One of the major occupations of the family is cotton growing, cotton wool carding or cotton spinning. The other stratum indicates the following characteristic motifs: (i) The deity is within her abode which is usually a cave or a grove. (ii) Sheep and cattle are herded. (iii) A cow is killed. In some stories of the group there is the additional

motif of wool spinning which perhaps indicates a link between the two strata. The appearance of the cow (or the bull), and in one version also of a horse is a feature, minor or major, common to all the tales. In the agricultural tales the cow (or the bull) is not without significance. It is an object of affection and veneration. In the pastoral tales the cow takes a still more important position. She is an assistant to the deity, if not actually her representative, all through. In fact in most of the pastoral tales her role as the deity is overshadowed or eliminated by the imposition of the cave dwelling old woman (or demon).

On a close and deep scrutiny the twelve stories told above clearly show that they belong to a distinct group inspite of so many divergences. Their unity lies in the fact that the affected person—once a hero but almost always a heroine or both (who are uterine brother and sister) is (or are) driven away from home by the oppressions of a step mother (or a co-wife) and the relief comes from the hand of a bountiful deity or of a benevolent spirit. The heroine (or hero) either proves her worth before she meets the deity or she is put to test by the deity or the spirit. In any case the heroine (or her associate hero) would have to take a plunge or two in a pool or to have some kind of bath or shower. This was a symbol of initiation or a stamp of approval. (In one story B<sub>1</sub> there is no mention of bath. The story is a late version and the omission of bath is not deemed significant).

A clear cut dichotomy of the group of stories may be based on the situation and appearance of the deity or spirit. In one sub group (A) she appears as a lady sitting just outside the door of her abode (or hall or shed) or standing or sitting away from it. In the other sub group (B) she is stationed within her abode which is either a cave or a hole or grove. In two stories (B<sub>1</sub> & B<sub>2</sub>) the deity is represented by a sign and in another (C<sub>12</sub>) she is identified as the Holy Mother.

The stories can be further classified into sub-groups according to some salient features. It is attempted below.

In some stories (sub-subgroup c) the deity or the spirit has either a bovine agent or is represented by a cow. In three stories (sub-subgroup d) there is no cow but there is a stag (or a golden stag) or its replica, the agent of the deity.

Promise of marriage (in case of an unmarried girl or boy) or of restoration to the husband's love (in case of the married girl in B



l) is implied in some stories (sub-subgroup e) while in the rest satisfactory marriage is detailed. These stories numbering eight, fall into two clusters. In one (sub-subgroup cluster f) there is no further trouble after the marriage but in the other (sub-subgroup cluster g) the marriage is marred for a while by the wiles of the antagonist who substitutes her daughter for the lawful bride and attempts to disgrace her. From out of the five stories of this cluster four also show the Cinderella motif (sub-cluster h).

The following diagram may help in understanding the grouping of the stories.

A : G 1-2, B 1-3, O  
B : A 1-2, P 1-2, U, H

c : A 2 P 1 2 B 3 H  
d : G 2 O U (partly)  
e : B 1 2 O  
f : A 1 P 1 H  
g : G 2 U (partly)  
h : A 2 P 1 2 B 3

### 3

The deity or spirit (including the cow) in the eleven stories has an overall and detailed resemblance with the R̥gvedic goddess Uṣas. Uṣas is beautiful (*maghantī*) and she is a housewife (*purandhī*). She is brilliant white ruddy and golden hued. She is unaging (*ajuryā*). In the Group A stories the deity is manifest and out of door and she is but Uṣas who has come out of her abode or shed (*uraja*) after taking a shower (*turdhveva snati dṛṣave no asthat* 5.80.5).

The spirit lying in her cave (Group B stories) is the dark counter part of Uṣas that is Night (*Nakti*) who is also called the sister of Uṣas. But the two are the same person having two aspects representing the bright day (*ahur arjunam*) and the black day (*tamah kṛṣnam*). In the darkness of the cave she is a spirit as if Uṣas at night covers herself in a dark robe. Her dawning is symbolically described by the Vedic poet as casting off the robe of darkness *apa kṛṣṇam nirṇijam* 1.113.14. In some stories (A 1 P 1 2 B 3) the spirit (or deity) was to be awakened in time. This motif also has a parallel in the Uṣas mythos (*prati stomair abhutsmañi* 4.52.4). The sage in the stories B 1 and O appears to represent in the Vedic myth to the Vasistas who had first awakened Uṣas with their prayers (*prati stomebhir uṣasam vasisthā girbhir viprasaḥ prathamā abudhran* 7.80.1).

The relation of Uṣas with the cow was very close. She is called the mother of the cow (*gavam matā*). In the morning she releases the

kine i.e. the sunbeams, from the pen of darkness (4.37.2). The goddesses themselves in the Rig-veda Uṣas is often looked upon as a group of sisters—are compared to the released herd of cattle (*gavam na sargā uṣaso jarante* 4.51.8). Uṣas is the mother of the gods and so is Aditi the primeval cow. Uṣas is identified as the mother of the gods and the face of Aditi (*matā devānam aditer anikum* 1.113.19). Uṣas in or out of her pen is Aditi *pastyā* (*Frau Holle* in G.1). There is support from the Rigveda as to the colour of the cows acting as an agent of the deity (or spirit) in the stories. The yellow (P2) corresponds to the raw (*tama*) the black (H) to the black (*kr̥ṣṇa*) and the red (A?) to the red (*tr̥hinta*). The slaughter of the cow (as in A? P2 H) and possibly in H also) is not without a parallel in a prevedic myth. In a Gatha of Zarathustra (Ahunvanti) belonging to the oldest stratum of Avestan literature there is an echo of the story that the primeval cow was oppressed and killed. There is a very faint echo of such a myth in a Rigvedic verse where Aditi appears to stop her intended slaughter (*ma gam anagam aditiṁ vadhiṣta* B.101.15).

## 4

The following comments on the tales individually may perhaps clarify further the interrelation existing between them.

(1) The girls are sisters. The down-trodden girl found a pretty cottage by the side of a wood. The old lady was in a small cottage tending the apple tree and spinning cotton are indicative of her community as being agricultural. The old lady introduced herself as Mother Holle (= *Frau Holle*). Holle (NHC dialectal) means 'shed stable' i.e. the small cottage of which she was the occupant at the moment. (Holle is linguistically cognate to Sanskrit *śala*). The girl as she was coming away had a shower of gold which was probably originally yellow water (representing sunlight) which rendered her hair golden. At a second door—probably in the other cottage—she was given back her spindle and also a suit of golden clothes. The bad sister on her part had a shower of black water.

(2) This story has close affinity with the story from Orissa (O). Here the brother is changed to a golden stag and he acted as an agent of the deity. The story agrees with P1 and P2 as the step mother was helped by the girl to step into their home permanently.

B.1) The girls are neither sisters nor half-sisters but are co-wives.

Uṣas is mentioned as R̥himi in the Rigveda (*yam ya nout arkun r̥pa tohaya k̥ta* 8.101.13).

This may not be a mere local mutation. There is here no mention of a well as in G1. There was a shed and a bull and beyond it another cottage and a sage (*muni*) i.e. a priest near it. The girl was asked by the sage to take only one plunge into the tank nearby. She was asked to take away as a present an ever full casket of jewels from the cottage. There is no mention of spinning cotton but there was a cotton tree that had asked her to trim it. Veneration to the bull and care for the cotton and the plantain tree indicate the tale as belonging to an agricultural community. The *Tulsi* plant (the holy basil) and the sage indicate local variation. (The community from which the tale was taken was predominantly *Vaishnava*).

B 2) The second Bengali story is a version of the first (B1). But here the girls are half-sisters and instead of the cotton plant there is cotton wool and a cow for the bull.

The *Sheeta* tree (*Euphorbia Aspera*) replaces the *Tulsi* (as the popular belief in Bengal was that the bountiful lady of the woods inhabited the *Sheeta* plant) and the horse is not an innovation but an important survival. Usas is connected with the king as well as with the horse. She is *gomati* and *asvati* (RV 1.48.2.1-92.15 cf. *svetam navanti sudrakam asvam* 7.77.3). The old lady (the "Mother of the Moon" was stationed on the terrace of her white mansion engaged in spinning cotton (for Usas connection with the moon it may be pointed out that she is *candraratha* and she shines with the brilliance of the moon RV 1.48.19). The girl was guided by the wind (cf. the *Maruts* as the sons of Aditi). Here the girl takes two plunges in the tank. In B1 the girl was married and the casket presented by the sage contained only jewels for her wear. In B2 the girl was unmarried and the casket taken home by her produced her husband.

H) Here the person in distress is a boy. He and his half sister used to tend cattle although they belonged to a Brahman family. There is no mention of cotton or any plant. The community nurturing the tale seems to have been pastoral. A black cow from the herd helped the boy. From a Hindu story-teller it was not expected that there would be any reference to cow killing but in the original of tale the cow must have been killed. Otherwise there is no plausible justification for the bones mentioned towards the end of the tale. There is no old lady nor a *muni*. The deity is represented by a serpent and a bull dwelling deep under and supporting the earth. The serpent may stand for Vedic *Ahi Budhnya* or and *Varuna* and the bull may be the horned bull (*vṛhagavsa*) mentioned as the son or the grandson of Indra in RV 8.1.13 who drank from a trough

or ewer (*kundapáyya*); the thousand horned bull from the depth of the sea may also be compared (RV 7.55.4). The boy became golden haired and it was a strand of his hair that procured a wife for him. The finale of the tale is different from the other stories of the pastoral group. The motif of tracing through a strand of hair is distinctly Indian (where ladies did not generally wear shoes) while the Cinderella motif—tracing through a missing shoe—is distinctly Western. This is the simplest and perhaps the oldest of the 'pastoral' group of the stories.

A 1) This the most elaborate of the stories and is told in a consummate manner. The first part, the birth of a serpent son to a king, was possibly a part of a different story. The old lady was the dweller of a rock cave or citadel. The black, red and yellow waters flowing in her cave represent the milk of the black, the red and the yellow cow respectively of the other tales in the pastoral group. The girl herded cattle and sheep and spun wool, and she had lost her bobbin. Her winning a husband does not involve the complexity of the hair, the shoe or any other similar motif.

In the Armenian original the girl is named *Arevhat* ('Sunbeam') the prince *Ozdmánouk* ('Serpent child'). Vide Downing p. 45.

A 2) This story has a very close affinity with the Himalayan story (H). Here the cow is naturally red. (In Indian tradition a black cow gives the best milk). Before she was killed the cow had introduced her proteges to the old woman dwelling in a small mountainous cave. That is the old woman of whom the red cow was the agent. The only reference to water occurs in connection with the lost slipper.

P 1) As in G 2 and in the following story the girl helped her enemy to be established in their home. The death of the mother caused by the daughter is perhaps a local embellishment. The girl tended cattle and spun cotton. One day the wind blew away the cotton she was handling into a well and she got down to retrieve it. The old lady was a demoness (Div). She has two assistants here, the black wind and the white. The girl as she was departing received this blessing from the old lady—a moon on her forehead and a star on her chin and perhaps also a pair of shoes.

P 2) This story is closely connected with the other Persian story (P1). But here the would be step-mother was not a *mulla* but a tattooer, and the girl was an indirect agent for her mother's death. The dead mother and the yellow cow helped conjointly. Cotton wool was being blown away by the wind and following it the girl came



to the abode of a male demon (Div). The demon behaved in the same manner as the demoness in P1 and as the old woman in A1. The black cloud and the white cloud here also acted as the gatemmen or assistants of the Div. The girl was blessed by a sun on the forehead and a moon on the chin as well as with a pair of golden (?) slippers. But there is a further complication. A child was born to the couple and the girl was killed by a tiger.

The only mention of water occurs when the girl married to the son of the king bathed in a forest pool and was captured by his step-mother and her daughter.

B 3. In spite of some features which are definitely Bengali this story, the latest in age, has little common with B1 and B2 except that in all the three Bengal stories she was very unkindly treated by her step-mother (or co-wife). Its closer connection, however, with P1, P2 and A2 is obvious. The story was obtained from a Muslim lady and so there is cow-killing and *namaz*, which perhaps proclaim the story to be a Bengalicized version of a prototype brought from Iran.

The old lady was met sitting on the roadside at a distance from her house. That the dead cow here was identical with the old lady is also obvious. A specially Bengali motif is the boon obtained by the girl—pearls falling when she wept and gems dropping when she laughed. The motif of the dropping of cowdung in the case of the bad girl is also a peculiarly Bengali motif.

In the first four tales (G1, G2, B1, B2) the deity (a lady or a sage) is not shown as actually dwelling in the cottage (or shed or house or hollow of a tree), and the deity and the cottage-shed-house-hollow have distinct functions. The latter contains the good things and the deity leads the favoured person into it. Here "Frau Holle" of the German tale or *Aditi Pastyā* of the *Rigveda* appears to have split into two entities. The house (which standing for the cow, can be her shed and for the lady, as her treasury) is shown apart from the abode of the deity. The potency of the shed is the most emphatic in A 2. In the third story from Bengal (B3) too the house and the deity are spaced apart and they are distinct in their function.

In the four Anatolian and Iranian tales (A1, A2, P1, P2) the deity is the resident and master of its dwelling which is a cave in a mountainous region. Here there is apparently no split in the personality or in the function of "Frau Holle" and *Aditi Pastyā*. But *Usas* also had her cave dwelling—before her appearance after bath and dress

(C1 RV 5.45.3-6.65.5) The abode of the deity (Usas) and her cows (Aditi) was furnished by nature and it is guarded by the Winds (as in P1 and P2) or by the waters (as in A1-A2). The favoured person here had not occasion to demonstrate her goodness before coming to the deity but had to do tasks set by the spirit resident of the cave, only after her arrival.

The story from Orissa (O) has in one point a close affinity with G2—it is the gift of a golden stag which acted as an agent of the deity represented by a sage. It shows other embellishments not found in any other story of the group.

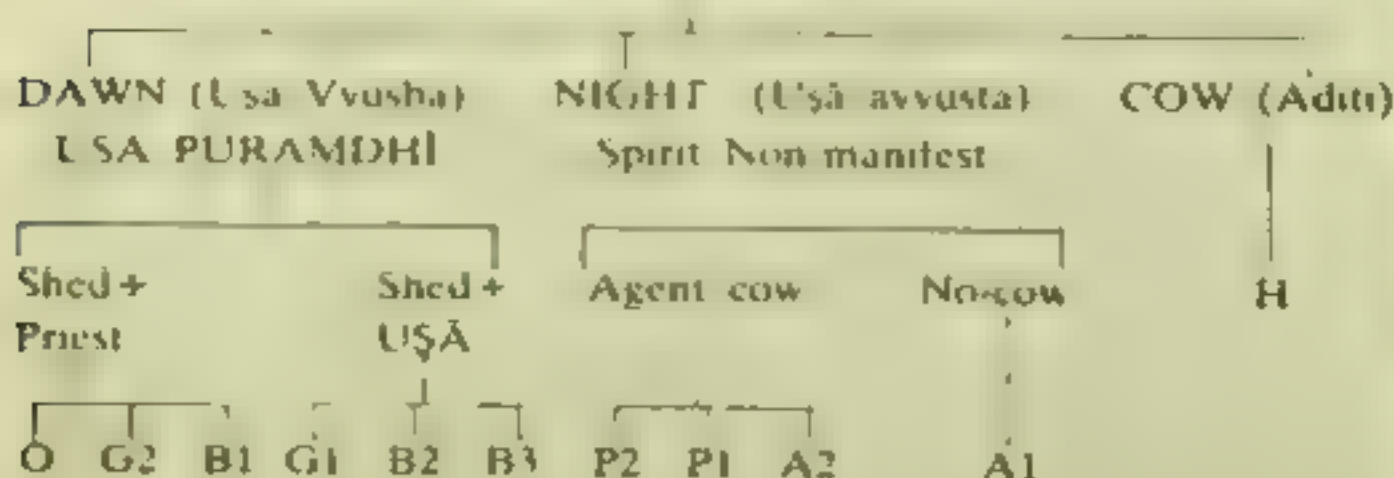
## 5

There is in RV a faint parallel of the main idea of the stories. There is a hymn (8.91) ascribed to Apalā of the clan of the Atris where the young girl who invoked Indra and offered the god *soma* drink and food prepared by herself. In return she wanted (i) hair for her father who was bald-headed (ii) beauty *isuryatyac* 'sunbright skin' for herself (iii) a loving husband and (iv) fertility.

The story of Apalā is slightly comparable to B1 where there is an easy explanation of the *mun*.

The distribution of the tales according to the nature and function of the deity is shown in the following chart.

## UṢĀ-ADITI



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# Sur quelques soi-disant archaïsmes dans le vocabulaire et la flexion du tokharien

A.J. Van Windekens

1. Il m'est un grand honneur de pouvoir collaborer au Memorial Volume pour Irach J. S. Pataporewala dont l'infatigable activité a contribué d'une façon décisive au prestige du Département de Philologie Comparée (plus tard de Linguistique) à l'Université de renommée mondiale de Calcutta. Département qui est en même temps le plus ancien dans son genre dans les Universités de l'Inde. Je félicite vivement le Professeur Subhadra Kumar Sen qui a pris la magnifique initiative de commémorer par l'édition du présent Memorial Volume le centenaire de la naissance de la personnalité éminente qu'a donc été Irach J. S. Pataporewala.

2. Donnant suite à l'amable invitation de mon collègue Subhadra Kumar Sen d'étudier dans cette Gedenkschrift un problème de la langue tokharienne, je me suis proposé de soumettre à un examen critique les idées que K. I. Schmidt (1987: 287 ss.) a développées sur quelques termes tokhariens et sur une désinence nominale de cette langue.

3. K. I. Schmidt (1987: ss.) se penche sur un mot tokharien B qui jusqu'ici était inconnu: il s'agit de *awl*, nom pl. fem. signifiant 'weibliche Schale' et qu'il a trouvé 'In einem unpublizierten Rezensenschaftsbericht der Sammlung Pelliot'. K. I. Schmidt ne donne aucun autre renseignement sur cette trouvaille: c'est ce vraiment difficile, pratiquement impossible, donc de fournir quelques précisions: c'est sur le contexte direct dans lequel se situe B *awl*, sur la présence éventuelle de mots sanskrits assurant le sens du mot tokharien, etc. Il est à noter que déjà Thomas (1985: 23) a critiqué à bon droit la méthode qu'emploie K. I. Schmidt pour informer les chercheurs sur des textes inédits: au lieu de publier les textes, il en donne une traduction incomplète (dans le cas qui nous occupe ici même un seul mot) et ce que Thomas qualifie de 'Verfahren in dem man sich um Präzision nicht zu bemühen braucht und Schwierigkeiten leicht umgeht'. Je renvoie aussi à Van Windekens (1986 a, 161).

4. Mais supposons donc que K. I. Schmidt ait vraiment réussi à



identifier B *awi* comme *westliche Schafe*. Il prétend *Mit toch B awi tritt erstmals ein Fortsetzer des idg. Schwortes* (vgl. *ai awi-* lat. *avis*, ...) im Tocharischen zutage. Qu'il me soit permis de signaler que déjà dans Van Windekens 1978 : 349 s. (voir aussi Van Windekens 1985 a : 484 s.) j'ai proposé de voir dans *v* de tokh. B *yakwa*, pl. "poids-laine de mouton/poids de chevre" le représentant tokharien B de *i* e. \**wi-*, forme apophonique de \**owi-* "mouton/brebis". Evidemment K. I. Schmidt a le droit de ne pas admettre cette interprétation, mais il ne peut l'ignorer. Cependant ce n'est pas la première fois qu'il fait preuve d'une pauvreté stupéfiante en matière de bibliographie, et p. ex. aussi Van Windekens 1979 a : 174 ss. et voir d'ailleurs ci-dessous passim dans le présent article.

5. Une forme *i* e. \**owi-* devait évidemment aboutir à tokh. B \**ewi-*, avec *i* e. \**o* tokh. B *e*. Il n'est donc pas surprenant de lire chez K. I. Schmidt *Auffbg ist das kurze a der ersten Silbe des westtocharischen Wortes*. Pour rendre compte du vocalisme radical de B *awi* il part d'un ancien nom pl. \**aw-* accentué sur la deuxième syllabe et supposant donc un nom sg. \**aw-* (il renvoie à l'exemple de B nom pl. *sam* en face de nom sg. *sam* *etres*). D'après K. I. Schmidt ce nom sg. \**aw-* remonterait à *i* e. \**owi-* (et le nom pl. représenterait *i* x. \**owives*). Et il se trouve donc forcé de reconnaître qu'en face de toutes les (autres) langues indo-européennes qui offrent \**owi-*, le tokharien B est la seule langue indo-européenne à avoir conservé un thème allongé \**owi-*. Qui plus est, l'existence en tokharien B d'un sordinant représentant *i* e. \**owi-* à côté de \**owi-* dans les autres langues indo-européennes témoignerait en faveur de sa lexion dite "arostatique" admise par Eichner et qui serait caractérisée par le degré allongé dans les cas forts et par le degré normal dans les cas faibles. Tokh. B \**aw-* *i* e. \**owi-* constituerait donc un archaïsme qui n'aurait perdu ses autres langues indo-européennes.

6. Mais à regarder de près, il faut quand même se demander si l'hypothèse d'un tokh. B \**aw-* *i* e. \**owi-* est la seule qui puisse rendre compte de B nom pl. *awi*. K. I. Schmidt a vu donc un ancien \**awi* avec accent sur la deuxième syllabe, mais rien n'empêche de le considérer comme *awi* tel quel accentué sur la première syllabe, on n'a qu'à renvoyer les au type de B nom pl. *antse* en face de nom sg. *antse* "épaule" (et *amwa* B nom pl. *na-kti* en face de nom sg. *nakte* "dieu" B nom pl. *salt* en face de nom sg. *sale* "montagne" B nom pl. *yakwi* en face de nom sg. *yakwe* "cheval" etc. (cf. Van Windekens 1979 b : 210 ss.). Autrement dit le nom pl. *awi* a pu être construit sur un nom sg. \**aw* de nom pl. de \**aw* a pu être influencé par le nom pl. *yakwi* de B *yakwe* "cheval".



nom d'un autre animal domestique). Et ce nom sg B \*aw avec voyelle a en face d'i-e \*owi- s'expliquerait excellemment comme un emprunt au dialecte A ou i-e \*o devient régulièrement a, donc avec i-e \*owi- tokh A \*aw(i)-. Pour un autre exemple d'un emprunt B-A d'un nom d'animal cf aussi B laks "poisson" < A \*laks- i-e \*loksa-s, également donc avec i-e \*o < A a (Van Windekens 1976, 254 s. — on rejettera ce que propose Adams 1985, 72 ss.)

7. Seulement on ne peut pas exclure la possibilité d'un ancien \*āwi accentué sur la deuxième syllabe et témoignant donc en faveur d'un ancien nom sg \*aw. Mais pour ce \*aw ne pourrait-on pas songer également à un emprunt à skr āvi-, dont a devait donner tokh ā ? Sur le passage skr ā tokh ā, voir surtout Isebaert 1980, 15 ss.

8. De tout ce qui précède il faut conclure que la forme B nom pl awi 'weibliche Schafe' (à supposer que dans le texte inédit elle ait été interprétée correctement par K. T. Schmidt) n'oblige pas du tout à admettre i-e \*ōwi- à côté de \*owi-. Il vaut donc mieux ne pas parler dans ce cas d'un archaïsme qui de plus constituerait une (nouvelle) preuve en faveur de la flexion acrostatique.

9. Pour arriver à une explication de tokh B ālme "puits" (perl sg ālmesa, loc sg ālmene) traduction de skr udapāna- 'Brunnern', K. T. Schmidt 1987, 290 ss., le juge absolument superflu d'examiner si ce terme n'a pas déjà été l'objet de quelque étude — de toute façon les interprétations de Van Windekens 1977, 144 (parenté avec tokh A lyām, B lyam 'lac' < i-e \*lem- 'briser, rompre', avec e < a lit lomā 'fosse, trou, creux', ālme- 'préfixe intensif ā-' et i-e \*lmo-) et de Isebaert 1980, 153, note 1 (parenté avec lat alvus 'ventre, cavité intestinale, ruche' et hitt hallu(i)- 'profond') sont passées candidement sous silence. Seulement ce mépris de K. T. Schmidt pour la bibliographie et les recherches d'autrui n'étonnera plus personne — cf aussi passim dans la présente contribution.

10. Pour lui tokh B ālme se rattache d'une part à skr ved ārma-, d'autre part à tokh B yolme 'pièce d'eau, étang'. Quant à skr ved ārma-, il s'agit là d'un terme dont K. T. Schmidt reconnaît lui-même que son sens précis est très obscur (voir les diverses tentatives citées par K. T. Schmidt qui, curieusement, ne fait aucune mention de Mayrhofer 1956 ss., 52 — ici le mot en question (pl) reçoit le sens de "Trümmer, Ruinen", ce qui correspond à la vue de la plupart des chercheurs). Pour K. T. Schmidt skr ved ārma- est un "Wasserwort" qui a le sens de 'Brunnern'. Seulement son examen de ārma-, dans deux passages est manifestement si influencé

par le sens de tokh B *âlme* (et aussi par celui de tokh B *yolme*) dont il veut rapprocher *ârma-*, que l'on ne peut attacher aucune valeur à un skr *ved arma-* signifiant 'Brunnen'.

De plus la "methode" suivie par K. T. Schmidt dans ce cas rappelle remarquablement celle qu'il a développée autour du terme tokh B *kenmer* dont le sens est inconnu, mais auquel il a attribué simplement celui de hitt *\*kammar-*, lous *\*katmar-* 'Excrement, Kot' dont il a rapproché le terme tokharien étymologiquement cf. Van Windekens 1979, 178.

11 K. T. Schmidt est d'avis que tokh B *âlme* (il faut donc laisser de côté skr *ved arma-*) est à comparer à des hydronymes tels que *Almus* (Moesia Inferior), *Yealm* (Angleterre) *Âlme* (Lituanie) etc. qui d'après Krahe remontent à i. e. *\*almo-*, *\*almā-*. D'autre part tokh B *âlme* ne pourrait être séparé de tokh B *yolme* : une fois de plus on constate ici que K. T. Schmidt ne prête pas d'attention au travail de ses co-chercheurs (cf. passim dans la présente contribution), puisque pour B *yolme* il ne cite ni Van Windekens 1976 603 (- préfixe intensif *y-* et *-olme-* compose se superposant à gr. *ἐναιδος* 'lu d'un torrent, ravin'), ni Hilmarsson 1984, 18 s., note 2 (i. e. *\*emiya-* ou *\*elmō(n)-*, avec e. a. lit. *lîme*, hydronyme).

12 Je m'abstiens ici d'une discussion sur ces rapprochements pour B *âlme* et B *yolme*, mais une prise de position sur les reconstructions indo-européennes que propose K. T. Schmidt pour ces termes tokhariens me paraît nécessaire. Tokh B *âlme* remonterait à i. e. *\*almo-* et tokh B *yolme* continuerait i. e. *\*élmo-*. Or d'après K. T. Schmidt la différence vocalique *\*a-* *\*é-* à l'initiale de ces formes indo-européennes, d'où tokh B *â-* et tokh B *\*é* (serait devenu *o* (?) après le développement d'un *y-* secondaire) serait un exemple tokharien (B) de la "loi" de Eichner stipulant qu'en hittite *\*é* (accentue) ne devient pas *\*a* au voisinage de la laryngale *\*h<sub>2</sub>*.

13 Je dois dire que j'ai mes doutes sur cette "loi" de Eichner : les exemples hittites sur lesquels il a construit cette "loi" sont loin d'être convaincants d'autant plus que ces mots, qui sont d'ailleurs peu nombreux, admettent pratiquement tous d'autres interprétations. Je songe ici e. a. à hitt *ḫekur* 'pointe de rocher, sommet de montagne' que Eichner a voulu expliquer à partir d'i. e. *\*h<sub>2</sub>ék-w<sub>2</sub>* du soi-disant *\*h<sub>2</sub>ék-* 'être pointu' (en face de gr. *ακρος okros* etc.) mais qui correspond en réalité à gr. *αἶψα* 'escarpement, hauteur, montagne' *αἶψα* 'haut et escarpé' cf. Van Windekens 1985 b 94 ss. et 1986 b, 6 s. et 253. Je renvoie de plus à Van Windekens 1988.

14. Si parente n'a a entre tokh B **alme** et tokh B **yolme**, parente qui a mon avis ne s'impose pas du tout, et si tokh B **yolme** continue /e/ \***elmo-** (ce que je crois pas), tokh a- \*a- de B **alme** s'expliquerait facilement comme réduction (schwa primum) de /e/ > /e/ (qui ne résulterait pas d'un allongement secondaire). On se trouverait donc devant le même rapport apophonique que dans le cas de hitt **aku-** en face de **eku-** 'boire' (ce qui remonte en tout cas à /e/ > \***ē** (primaire) et où le hittite n'offre donc pas de **h** 'laryngale à l'initiale).

Au lieu de voir dans tokh B **alme** et **yolme** un "archaïsme" comme le propose K. T. Schmidt, on n'a qu'à appliquer des règles solidement établies, connues déjà depuis longtemps et qui n'ont rien de commun avec les exagérations l'yringistes.

15. K. T. Schmidt 1987: 289 s., croit avoir découvert un autre "archaïsme" dans tokh B **panto** (= A **panto**) "assistance, aide, compagnon" qui expliquerait la fin de de skr. **panthāḥ**, av. **pantā** "Weg Pfad" (formes indo-iraniennees se superposant étymologiquement à tokh B **panto**, du moins de l'avis de K. T. Schmidt). Ici encore on constate que ce monsieur se moque ouvertement des idées que d'autres linguistes pourraient avoir eues sur la grammaire historique et compare du tokharien, car pour tokh B **panto** il semble ignorer aussi bien l'explication de Van Winkens 1976: 352 (parente avec skr. **bāndhu-** (= a) 'alli, associé, compagnon', lit. **beṇḍras** 'compagnon' etc.) que celle de Čop 1975: 7 s. (= /e/ > \***po(t)-** 'Vieh weiden, hüten') explications qu'il ne se donne même pas la peine de mentionner (pour d'autres exemples de cette attitude hautaine et a-scientifique, voir passim dans la présente contribution).

16. Dans skr. **panthāḥ**, av. **pantā** quelques linguistes ont vu un thème du type de lat. **vates** (cf. e. a. Mayrhofer 1957 ss.: 210 s.). K. T. Schmidt prétend qu'à la lumière de tokh B **panto** il faut poser une finale /e/ > /es/. Seulement la question fondamentale dans ce cas c'est celle de la soi-disant parente de tokh B **panto** avec les formes indo-iraniennees. À mon avis le sens du terme tokharien exclut toute parente. En effet tokh B **panto** ne signifie que 'Beistand' (équivalent de skr. **sahāya-** 'aide, secours') et A **pānto** qui provient du dialecte B a le même sens (K. T. Schmidt ne veut pas tenir compte de A **panto** à cause de l'identité de sens qui est peut-être embarrassante pour lui !). Or pour concilier sémantiquement skr. **panthāḥ** (= av. **pantā**) qui aurait surtout le sens de 'der richtige Weg, der zum schwer erreichbaren Ziel führt', et tokh (B) **panto**, K. T. Schmidt a imaginé pour le terme tokharien le sens de 'Führer', c. a. d. 'der richtige Weg etc.' employé comme métaphore. Mais il est évident qu'il y a une différence foncière entre les notions de



"aider, secourir" et de "conduire"

17 Tout chercheur qui s'occupe de la grammaire historique et comparée d'une langue doit s'appuyer avant tout sur les données philologiques qu'apporte cette langue. Or dans le cas de tokh B **pānto** K. T. Schmidt part uniquement de la forme du nom sg et ne semble pas connaître l'acc sg **pantai**, le nom pl **pantañ** et le perl pl **pantaintsa**, formes qui se trouvent pourtant réunies chez Van Windekens 1976 : 352 (voir d'ailleurs aussi Van Windekens 1979 b, 29). Il est évident que l'on ne peut riger de la finale *-o* du nom sg **pānto** sans tenir compte de *-ai* de l'acc sg de *-añ* du nom pl et de *-aintsa* du perl pl qui lui prouvent un acc pl en *-aim*.

18 Qui plus est, ce paradigme flexionnel n'est pas du tout isolé : au contraire. et aussi B nom sg **lyauto** "ouverture" avec acc sg **lyautai**, B nom sg **lesto** "nid, refuge" avec acc sg **lestai**, B nom sg **patro** "Almosenschale" avec acc sg **patrai** et acc pl **patraim**; B nom sg **swanco** "rayon" avec acc sg **swancat**, gen sg **swancainise** et nom pl **swuncain**, B nom sg **okso** "boeuf" avec acc sg **okvai** et acc pl **oksum**. On se trouve ici devant la catégorie de noms tokhariens B en *-o*, *-ai* qui a la suite d'une interpenetration flexionnelle analogique représentant à la fois e a les thèmes indo-européens en *\*-oi-* (type de gr *παῖς* tokh B nom sg en *-or* i e *\*-ôiti*, acc sg *-ai* i e *\*-oypi*) et les thèmes indo-européens en *\*-ôin* (voir ici B nom pl **pantañ**). Je renvoie à Van Windekens 1979 b, 26 ss.

Une seule conclusion s'impose donc ici : la finale i e *\*-as* de tokh B **panto** n'existe que dans l'imagination (peu scientifique) de K. T. Schmidt. C'est un archaïsme tokharien de plus qui tombe.

19 Chez K. T. Schmidt 1987 : 295 s. on lit e a "Altindisch und Osttocharisch sichern... die Existenz eines grundsprachlichen Wurzelnomens *\*twek-*", dont le sens serait celui de "Decke". Du côté sanskrit il s'agirait de *tvāc-* "peau" et du côté tokharien A ce serait **ptuk(k)** "obscurité, ténèbres, etc.". J'avoue que j'ai lu plusieurs fois l'exposé de K. T. Schmidt sur ces deux termes, parce qu'il me semblait inconcevable qu'une personne qui s'adonne à la science se trouve en état de proposer des énormités impardonnables, soit par ignorance (voulu ?), soit par négligence ou encore par simple manque d'information. En effet avant de rapprocher tokh A **ptuk(k)** de skr *tvāc-* et avant d'expliquer ces mots à partir d'i e *\*tweq-* (pour cette reconstruction il renvoie à la p. 300, note 70, à un article dont l'auteur n'est pas mentionné), K. T. Schmidt cite le dictionnaire sanskrit bien connu de Mayrhofer. Or Mayrhofer 1986 ss., 537 s.

rapproche skr *tyac-* de gr *sakos* "bouchier de cuir" *phere-ssakēs* "qui porte un bouclier" (pour le thème sigmatique de la forme grecque cf skr *hiranya-tyacas-* "avec une peau, un pelage d'or"), une étymologie a bon droit dite "classique" et qui n'a été contestée par aucun comparatiste. On se trouve donc ici devant la triste confirmation de ce que j'ai déjà mis en évidence dans Van Windekens 1979 a : 174 s. et aussi passim dans la présente contribution. K. T. Schmidt n'est pas au courant de la matière qu'il prétend étudier.

20. Or skr *tyac-*, *-tyacas-*, gr *sakos* ne peuvent s'expliquer qu'à la lumière d'une \**twag-* la reconstruction \**tweg-* de K. T. Schmidt avec une labiovelaire et avec vocalisme *e* est donc foncièrement erronée. Pour ce qui est de l'interprétation de tokh. A *ptuk(k)-* \**tpuk* (metathèse) apparente à tokh. A *tpuk-* "être caché (caus.) cacher", K. T. Schmidt émet l'avis que le groupe initial *tp-* constitue clairement ("eindeutend") une "dissimilatorische Umgestaltung von \**tw-*" (et la labiovelaire finale) seulement il ne tient pas compte ici de B *tuk-*, *cauk-* qui répond à A *tpuk-* et qui n'offre pas *-p-*, ce qui prouve que dans A *tpuk-* le *-p-* provient d'une insertion secondaire qui ne caractérise que le dialecte A. On trouve d'autres exemples de ce phénomène chez Van Windekens 1976, 125, mais, comme d'habitude, K. T. Schmidt ne s'en occupe pas.

Et je voudrais aussi l'engager à examiner de plus près l'interprétation que j'ai donnée de A *tpuk-*, B *tuk-*, etc. (Van Windekens 1976, 507 s.) au lieu de la rejeter purement et simplement au profit d'une autre dont nous connaissons maintenant la qualité exceptionnelle.

21. Dans un texte bilingue sanskrit-tokharien A. K. T. Schmidt 1987 : 294 s., prétend avoir découvert un terme *tursko* "Zugtier, Zugrind" à analyser en *turts-* qui correspondrait à skr *dhūr-* "Anschirrwerk, Gestänge" (cf. ici Mayrhofer 1957 ss., 111) et à hitt. *turiya-* "anschirren" et en *-ko* qui se superposerait à tokh. A *ko* "vache". La forme *turs-* serait celle d'un gén. sg. en \*-*es*. Mais K. T. Schmidt lui-même trouve la "syntaktische Geltung" de ce génitif "Auffallig" et il ajoute "sie scheint sich keiner der bekannten Kategorien dieses Kasus zwanglos zuordnen zu lassen". Cette explication est donc au moins forcée.

22. C'est pourquoi je propose ici une autre solution qui ne souffre pas de cette difficulté. À mon avis tokh. A *tursko* (à supposer que ce mot ait le sens que lui attribue K. T. Schmidt) doit être séparé en *tur-sko* : pour *tur-* on maintiendra l'explication de K. T. Schmidt (cependant je me demande si *tur-* n'est pas simplement un emprunt à skr *dhūr-*), mais *-sko* n'aurait rien de commun avec tokh. A

ko "vache". Pour **-sko** je songe à une origine  $i -e$  **\*sq-ow-** et une parenté avec les mots celtiques bret. **hesk** "trocken, unfruchtbar", **hesken** aussi "trocken, unfruchtbar" et dit d'une vache sans veau et sans lait, **heska** "tarit", corn. **beuch heskyz** "a dry cow" etc. mots qui sont apparentes à m. irl. **sese** "trocken, unfruchtbar" av. **hišku-** "trocken" formes à redoublement **\*si-** et à suffixe **\*-u-** (voir ma reconstruction **\*sq-ow-**, sans redoublement) pour ces mots (cf. Pokorny 1959, 894 s.).

Le sens premier de tokh. A **-sko**  $i -e$  **\*sq-ow-** aurait donc été celui de "(vache) qui ne donne plus de lait" et qui se trouve donc employée pour trainer le chariot de la le composé avec **tur-**.

23. D'après K. T. Schmidt 1987, 288 s., un texte tokharien B non publié de la collection berlinoise offrirait la forme **pacere** "Die Eltern" qui serait un duel de B **pācer** "pere". Jusqu'ici un duel tokh. B en  $-e$  n'était pas connu et d'après K. T. Schmidt la forme **pacere** représenterait "eine sowohl semasiologisch als auch morphologisch hochaltertümliche Bildung" qui ne trouverait son équivalent que dans skr. ved. **pitarā**. Cela signifierait que pour tokh. B  $-e$  et skr.  $-ā$  il faudrait partir d'une désinence  $i -e$  **\*-ē**. K. T. Schmidt fait aussi état d'une hypothèse de Normier selon laquelle tokh. B **twere** "porte" serait aussi un (ancien) duel d'un thème en **\*-r** : il faudrait poser dans ce cas  $i -e$  **\*dhwore** "les deux battants de la porte" et cette forme indo-européenne aurait aussi survécu dans skr. ved. **dvārā** et dans lat. **forēs**. Dans la suite la forme tokh. B **twere** aurait coïncidé avec les anciens mots thématiques en **\*-o-** (nom. sg. **\*-os**, **\*-om**).

24. Il y a lieu d'examiner de près ce nouvel "archaïsme" de K. T. Schmidt. Il y a tout d'abord la comparaison de skr. ved. **dvārā** (et aussi donc de tokh. B **twere**) avec lat. **forēs** : il est évident que la finale **-ēs** de lat. **forēs** ne peut être analysées en  $-ē-s$ , puisque tout comparatiste sérieux doit savoir que cette désinence est issue telle quelle d' $i -e$  **\*-ey-es** et correspond à gr. **-eis** (cf. **poies**) et à skr. **-ayah** (cf. **matayah**) ce qui veut dire qu'il s'agit de la finale des thèmes indo-européens en **\*-i-**. D'ailleurs l'hypothèse elle-même d'un ancien duel tokh. B **twere** est assez gratuite, puisque cette forme s'explique excellemment à partir d' $i -e$  **\*dhworo-**, thématique (cf. Van Windekens 1976, 520).

Il faut noter ensuite que rien n'oblige d'assigner une origine commune à tokh. B  $-e$  (**pacere**) et à skr.  $-ā$  (**pitarā**), cette dernière désinence ayant déjà reçu dans le passé une interprétation plausible à partir d' $i -e$  **\*-ō** des mots thématiques (transfert analogique bien compréhensible).

Enfin une fois de plus il faut attirer l'attention sur l'ignorance (apparemment voulue ?) de K. T. Schmidt dans ce cas des matériaux et de la bibliographie disponibles (voir d'autres exemples de cette carence dans la présente contribution). En effet K. T. Schmidt ne semble pas connaître l'existence en tokharien B d'un patalis en -e (= A nūhīl dont il y a plusieurs exemples tels que B āmīkne- antse 'épaule' B šarne- sar 'main' B esne- ek 'œil' B samaskane- samaske 'jeune garçon' etc. ou la partie nasale provient d'anciens thèmes en \*-n- (Van Windekens 1979 b: 240 ss.). Or nous savons qu'en tokharien en face du duel proprement dit qui désigne une dualité occasionnelle le patalis constitue une spécialisation du duel qui lui porte sur une naturelle Plurverbondung (voir allem. bei Namen plüngen Körper etc. (Van Windekens 1979 b: 235, avec renvoi à Krause). On verra donc plutôt dans B pucere une trace précoce de la desinence de ce duel spécial : dans pucere il y a la desinence -e parce qu'il n'a pas ajoutée aux thèmes en \*-n- comme p. ex. dans B samaskane- les deux jeunes garçons.

Cette desinence B -e a été rapprochée de la finale -o dans gr. du-o lat. du-o (Van Windekens 1979 b: 243) mais rien d'étonnant dans que K. T. Schmidt ne se donne même pas la peine de tenir compte de cette interprétation et à la différence de Shveds 1982: 30 ss. (article évidemment inconnu à K. T. Schmidt).

15. De tout ce qui précède il est devenu clair, je pense, que les archaïsmes lexicaux et flexionnels dont K. T. Schmidt 1987 ss. a voulu prouver l'existence en tokharien se sont écroulés comme des châteaux de cartes.



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Pour les reconstructions indo-européennes des formes tokhariennes je ne me sers pas des (symboles des) laryngales qui semblent si chères à K. T. Schmidt, parce qu'à mon avis il est absurde de vouloir appliquer la théorie (ou les théories) des laryngales à la langue médiévale qu'est le tokharien cf. Van Windekens 1976, IV et Anreiter 1984, 17 s., note 6



# Armenian Arbun(k' ) “Vigour, Maturity”

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1 In Classical Armenian texts, **arbun(k' )** is used in the meaning ‘vigour, maturity’. The word is used only in the sense of ‘maturity of age’ denoting ability to marry or carry arms. Thus Movs' Nor 2.80 — **y-arbuns hasaki hascal mankann p'esayac'uc'ane ... omn ayr ... i dustr iwr** ‘the child having reached vigour of age (maturity) ... a certain man ... married him to his daughter’. Likewise **oc' ankatur hasakk' nyl amenek'ean y-arbuns tioc' i čah gol paterazmakan gorcoy** ‘no imperfect statures, but all in the vigour of their years to be suited for military work’ (NHB).\*

2 The word **arbunk'** occurs nearly exclusively in the plural form when used in the singular it is never inflected. E.g. **snar orpes manuk minč'ew y-arbun hasaki** ‘you were brought up as a child until maturity of age’ (NHB). The Venice Dictionary defines the word as both a substantive and an adjective. It seems, however, that in Classical Armenian, only substantival value can be acknowledged after Ačaryan's discussion (in HAB) of the one reputedly adjectival reference.

In Modern Armenian the word (in the form **arbunk'**) means ‘sexual maturity’. Also, there exist two adjectives **arbun** meaning ‘having reached maturity (of age)’ and ‘making drunk’, respectively. In the latter sense, the word is clearly a recent (i.e. non-classical) derivation from the productive root **arb—** (**arbenal** ‘to drink’ etc.).

In Classical Armenian, the word is inflected as an n-stem. Nom. pl. **arbun-k'**, Acc.-Loc. pl. **arbun-s**, Gen.-Dat.-Abl. pl. **arbun-e'**, Instr. pl. **arbambk'**. The form **arbunc'** (instead of an expected \***arbanc'**) can be compared with the inflexion of the adjective **canr** ‘heavy’ **canunk'** **canunc'**, or that of **erkok can—erkoc'unc'** both.

3 The word **arbunk'** has been etymologized with Goth. **abrs** ‘strong’ (Dzaukjan 1982: 74) as \***abhrō'**. This proposal is more likely than any of its predecessors (among which Skt. **arbhā—** ‘small’, German **Erbe** ‘heir’, cf. HAB). Although the PIE connections of Goth. **abrs**

are not very reliable and although *ahrs* requires PIE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ebh-ro-* next to Armenian *\*H<sub>2</sub>ebh-ro-*, Jahukyan's proposal to connect these two words cannot easily be rejected on formal or semantic grounds.

Nevertheless, it does not follow that this proposal is correct. One might be tempted to connect Arm. *arbunk* 'vigour' with Skt. *bhūrṇ-* 'excited, wild, angry, eager' on the basis of a root *\*bherH-* (cf. Pokorny's 2. *bher-* 'aufwallen') or with Pokorny's *\*bhereu-* as in Lat. *ferreo* 'to ferment'. How can one decide? Obviously, one cannot without adducing more or new materials.

In the following an attempt will be made to limit the field of possible connections outside Armenian by adducing inner Armenian materials. It is proposed that *arbunk* 'vigour' should be connected with *butn* 'violent'.

4. The NHB mentions two entries *butn*, the one meaning 'list' and the second 'violence, force, tyrant, strong, violent'. Both meanings occur from the Bible onwards. The words (in all meanings mentioned here) inflect as an *n*-stem: Gen-Dat-Loc sg. *bfin* or *bran*, Nom Pl. *brunk*, Gen-Dat-Abl pl. *branc* etc. The adverbs (f) *bfin* and *bfinw* (Eusebius) 'violently' indicate also a vocalic (f-) inflexion. The oblique cases show a not unexceptional secondary expansion of *f* as e.g. in *beṛn*, *beṛin* 'burden' as against more regular *leṛn*, *leṛin* 'mountain'.

Though HAB is not able to propose an etymology, it treats both entries as a single word, giving the meaning 'list' the etymological priority. This view can be supported by pointing to a metaphorical expression like *z-bṛamb ael* 'to subjugate' lit. 'to lead by the list'. Jahukyan (1987: 160) however, separates both entries as historically unrelated and (leaving aside *butn* 'list') connects the second entry as an original adjective *butn* 'violent' (a formation with a suffix *-no-*: Jahukyan 1987: 234) with Skt. *bhūrṇ-*, the word mentioned above. It is well known that Armenian *n*-stems may be relatively young formations, partly originating from vocalic suffixes containing an *-n-*: thus, on the formal side, Jahukyan's proposal is acceptable.

I propose to consider *butn* and *arbunk* as the *membra disiecta* of one original paradigm, the attested words are built on the original singular and plural forms, respectively. This proposal is based on the assumption that the initial sequence of the root of this word is ablauting *\*bher/bhr-*. The original paradigm split as a result of the development of IE *\*bhr-* > (ar)b (as in *\*bhrēwr* > *\*arb* > *albiwr*). In view of the relatively high age of this split and given the fact that



both **burn** and **arbunk'** are *n*-stems it is likely that the *n*-stem both in **burn** and in **arbunk'** is old. In that case the adverbial forms mentioned above are recent thematizations.

If **arbunk'** is an original plural, the singular form **arbut** must be secondarily abstracted from it. Likewise the plural forms of **burn** given above (**brunk'** etc.) are secondary. The situation is comparable to a pair like plural **durk'** (Gen. pl. **drac'**, showing preservation of the old vocalic stem) next to **drunk'** (Gen. pl. **dranc'**, a recent *-n*-stem formation) from **durn** 'door'.

From the semantic point of view, the fact that **arbunk'** has an abstract meaning is in line with the proposal that it continues an original plural form. In Armenian, substantivized adjectives that have an abstract meaning tend to be plurals. It is difficult to decide the semantic issue raised by Jahukyan. I am inclined to accept his view, however, admittedly there is no compelling argument against the assumption that **arbunk'** 'vigour' and **burn** 'violent' show a specialized semantic development of **burn** 'fist'. On the other hand, the archaic plural ending **-unc'** (in **arbunc'**) seems to occur with adjectives only. Therefore I shall base myself in the following on the hypothesis that **arbunk'** is a substantivized adjective derived from **burn** in the sense 'violent, strong' leaving the word for 'fist' aside.

5. If this proposal is acceptable, it immediately follows that any etymological connection of **arbunk'** and Gkth **arbi** 'strong' is excluded. The connection with **\*bherH-** in Skt. **bhūrṇ-** then remains a possibility. It is conceivable that we may reconstruct a Proto-Armenian paradigm **\*bherH-n-** (sg.) **\*bhrH-on-** (pl.) to account for the the words discussed here.

An explanation of the vocalism **-u-** in **burn** is not easy. It seems to me that in this respect **burn** can be compared with a number of similar words:

Thus, in the word **klanem** 'to swallow' the Armenian root is **kul**. The traditional connection with the root **\*g<sup>h</sup>el-** 'to swallow' (Pokorny 365), or rather **\*g<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>1</sub>-** (Gk. **deleuri**) is most probably correct. Explanations of the vocalism of the Armenian stem have not been successful (cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 211-212).

Similarly, in words like **xurn** 'disorderly' next to **karn**, **alj-a-n-ulj** 'dark', **ker-a-kur** 'food' we find an unexplained **-u-**. In these words, we partly have to do with a relatively productive type of iterative formations, but we do not understand the origin of this

pattern (cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 211-2 with an unsatisfactory solution). The only form in this group that we can confidently etymologize is **kerakur** from the root **\*g<sup>h</sup>erH<sub>3</sub>**.

With respect to root vocalism, a case like **xurn** next to **xārn** is directly comparable with **burn** next to **arbunk<sup>1</sup>**. Therefore, it is not probable that the forms with **-u-** vocalism are zero degree formations. This leaves us with two options: these words show either an inherited long **ō** (or are derived from stems showing long **ō**), or an inherited short **-o-** that for some reason developed into Armenian **u**.

I find no proof for the latter possibility. Of course, given the fact we have to do with roots ending in **-RH<sub>3</sub>**, one is tempted to assume a development **-oRH<sub>3</sub>-** Arm. **ur**. Such a development is improbable, however, in view of the behaviour of similar groups containing inherited **-e-**: in an inherited group **-eRH<sub>3</sub>-** the **-e-** is subject to no special developments. Cf. **eker** 'he ate' from **\*eg<sup>h</sup>erH<sub>3</sub>t**.

Therefore, it seems that **-u-** in Arm. **burn** etc. reflects an inherited long **-ō-**. Inasmuch as these words are derived from verbal roots, they are derived from verbal stems containing an inherited long vowel.

### Notes

\* The textual material on **arbunk<sup>1</sup>** in this paper is exclusively taken from NHB and HAB. I have not been able to consult *Norayr Biwzandac'i Grigor Magistrosi Gamagtakan' elin meknutwna i nmin isk'i Magistrose Banaser*, 1900 (Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 119-140, esp. p. 130).

1 The inclusion of Arm. **arbek** 'very strong' in this etymology (thus also, hesitatingly, Jahukyan 1987: 111) cannot be accepted, as this word (found only in the *Bargirk Hayoc'*) most probably is the outcome of a manuscript corruption (Amalyan 1975: 351).

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# The ending Tocharian B **-ar** (**-är**) of the active preterit

Werner Winter

1 Wolfgang Krause (1952–2011) compared the ending of the third person plural of the active preterit in B **-ar**, A **-ar** with an ending found in Hitt. **-e-te-ir** (= **-eter**) to be sure, in somewhat reluctant terms, the statement was repeated in Krause–Thomas (1968: 260):

In Gruppe III konnte die woch. Endung **-re** der gleichen Endung in lat. *venere* usw. entsprechen, die kürzere Endung **-r** der in heth. *er* „sie assen“.

2 The following occurrences of B **-ar** (**-är**) can be listed: provenance is indicated in parentheses:

- asparne** (Š) ‘they covered him’
- anarñ** (H) ‘they hit me’
- krempar** (PK) ‘they hindered’
- haurar** (MQ) ‘they removed’
- nemarnes** (S) ‘they bent to him’
- pleikar** (FN) ‘they came forward to thee’
- prekar** (Š) ‘they asked’
- rotkarne** (Š) ‘they removed for him’
- serparne** (S) ‘they pointed out to them’
- tekar** (Brit. Mus.) ‘they burned’
- wsarñi** (Brit. Mus.) ‘they gave me’
- yopar** (Š, S, H) ‘they entered’

3 A form such as B **prekar** ‘they asked’ from Šorčuq can safely be analyzed as **\*prekār** – c. is in view of a Sangim form **nemarnes** ‘they bent to him’ (with no palatalization of the onset) to be equated with PIE **\*n**, the old vocalism of the active perfect singular, which was generalized throughout the entire active preterit of most Tocharian B forms of Krause’s class III. As to B **-ar** (**-är**), it is noteworthy that no palatalization of a preceding consonant is found, which means that B **-ar** (**-är**) cannot be derived from PIE **\*e**.

4 The place of the accent on the phonetically last syllable is clearly indicated in the unextended Central and Eastern forms **prekar**



and *yopar*. It seems therefore warranted to ascribe B *-ar* in forms extended by suffixed pronouns not to stress attraction: items like B *kaldstarme* 'he threatens them' or B *serpsame* 'he pointed out to them' clearly show that suffixed pronouns do not attract an accent toward them (while they indeed permit restoration of a retracted stress in forms such as B *asame* 'he leads them', B *asam* 'he leads', or B *tsankane* 'I arose in him', B *tsanka* 'it rose'). At third person plural forms of the active preterit in Krause's class III then clearly show the presence of a stressed *a* in the last syllable.

5. It is an all-pervasive fact of stress distribution in Tocharian B that an accent on a phonetically final syllable of polysyllabic words is found only when this syllable is a penultima morphophonemically; an underlying stress on the morphophonemically final syllable is retracted: witness B *yakwe* 'horse', genitive *yakwentse* (where B *yamor* 'action', *yamornitse* serves to indicate that genitival *-itse* does not attract stress toward itself); B *camel* 'both', genitive *emelitse*; B *eake* 'river', genitive *ekentse*; B *pake* 'part', nominative accusative plural *pakentu* (as against B *yamor* 'action', *yamornita*). Except for this constraint, the position of stress in polysyllabic forms is in principle free: note, e.g., the following forms of B *karpa-* 'descend': B *karpam* (phonetic ultimate), *karpa* (penult), *karpaystun* (antepenult), of B *kutka-* 'go beyond': B *kathau* (phonetic ultimate), *satkawa* (penult), *kutkasta* (antepenult), *satkasseneu* (pre-antepenult), or of B *karsa-* 'know': B *karsay* (phonetic ultimate), *karsauca* (penult), *karsame* (antepenult), *sarsaskemne* (preantepenult). The accent distribution incurred in B is quite independent of patterns reconstructable for Proto-Indo-European (cf., e.g., B *yakwe* 'horse', B *sak* 'ten', B *akar* 'ten', all with underlying stress on the morphophonemic ultimate, is contrasted with Skt. *asyah*, *dasa*, *asruḥ*; it is made use of in standard grammatical-lexical properties such as transitivity or locomotability of verb classes, and the overriding characteristic of curvative paradigms in B is stem initial stress. For details see Winter (1981).<sup>1</sup>

6. Tocharian B *-ar* then has to be derived from an underlying *-aX*, where *X* stands for a vowel or a sequence of vowel plus consonant [a] cannot, as has been pointed in § 3, reflect PIE *\*e*, PIE *\*i* and *\*u*, though possible sources of B *a* are without outside support. It is therefore necessary to derive B *-ar* from PIE *\*j*. The morphophoneme labeled *X*, for convenience, can have several potential sources: PIE *\*e*, for which Lat. *\*e* in *ere* could be cited as a parallel, PIE *\*i* and *\*u*, both without a match, and the es-coloring laryngeal, in the latter case *-arX* would reflect PIE *\*j<sup>h</sup>* (or, in Brugmannian terms, *\*j*) and thus be alignable with Skt. *-ur* and its Iranian counterparts.

As has been shown elsewhere (Winter 1965) laryngeals following resonants survived as vowels in Common Tocharian, while the *a*-coloring laryngeal is attested as *u* in Tocharian B (cf. e.g. B *pācer* 'father' <Skt. *pitā*, Gk. *patēr*, B *tarya* 'nominative-accusative feminine three' <Gk. *trīa*, B *puwar* 'fire' <Gk. *pur*), the *e*-coloring one merged with the reflex to PIE *e* in Proto-Tocharian, yielding palatalizing *\*a*. Examples for the latter development are B *es* 'extended dual form' B *esuner* 'eyes' <Gk. *osse*, Skt. *akṣi*, and the numerous optative (=imperfect) forms with a suffix B *-i-* <PIE *\*-ye-*. To these we may confidently add B *-ar-* <? <? <PIE *\*-rē-*.

7. A few comments are called for concerning the second variant of the Tocharian B third person plural suffix of the active preterit, viz. B *\*-re*. The comparison by Krause (1952–2011) with *\*-re* in Lat. *legere* cannot be upheld, at least not if Lat. *-re* is derived from PIE *-re* since this sequence could have yielded nothing else but B *-r*.

It seems advisable to look for an explanation of the variation of B *-r* and *-re* in a strictly Tocharian context.

In the suppletive paradigm of the copula we find in B a strange mixture of present-tense forms. B *ste* 'is' occurs side by side with a bound form B *star-*, non-Eastern B *skente* 'they are' is matched by Eastern B *stare*, which in its turn alternates with bound Eastern B *skentar-*. B *ste* and *skente* are, in terms of morphology, forms of the mediopassive, reconstructible as reflexes of *\*t̥is-ske-to* and *\*t̥is-ske-ntō*, respectively. Both forms fit the pattern of the preterit of Tocharian B. B *star-* also has the shape of a mediopassive third person singular, this time, however, of the present, viz. *\*t̥is-ske-tē* (or *\*t̥i*). B *stare* is a regular plural, neither of B *ste* (this is B *skente*, as has just been pointed out) nor of B *star-* (here B *skentar-* enters the picture, though *-a-* <? > requires the additional comment that the vocalism of monosyllabic B *star-* was transferred to B *skentar-*). If we now *is* is plausible, assume that the more irregular pattern is the more original one, it follows that B *ste* and B *stare* are the basic forms. As has been stated, B *ste* is a regular form of a mediopassive preterit; the corollary of our assumption concerning the antiquity of the *ste* = *stare* pattern is that we have to identify B *stare* as the original third person plural of the mediopassive preterit. B *-e* is indeed the distinguishing marker of the mediopassive voice in the third person singular of preterit forms. B *paivka* 'he wrote' <? <? <? B *paivkate* 'he wrote for himself' <? <? <? *\*-to*). The conclusion seems warranted that B *-nte* in the third person plural of the mediopassive preterit was reshaped after the *-t* : *-nt* pattern of the nonpreterit, replacing an older B *-re* (while this replacement must



have occurred in Common Tocharian, it is best described in terms of B) B -re now was available as a variant of B -r without a diathesis-marking value. It is noteworthy that in stems normally requiring B -re, in a few instances B -r is found instead, witness B *prautkar* 'they were filled' B *weñärmes* 'they said to them' (beside B *weñäre* 'they said' in the same text) B *yamsar* 'they made' (beside regular B *yamaşare* *yamsare*). The deviant forms may indicate that the prevailing pattern B /-a-re/ → -ar/ may have replaced an earlier B /-a-r/ : /ar/. Unfortunately, the comparable endings A -a-r/ (syn-copated from /-a-r/) : A -ar/ do not provide evidence one way or other as the equivalent of B -e would be A -.

8. What seems to have happened in Tocharian in this case too is that inherited forms have been reassigned to new functions or have been remodeled to fit newly developed patterns. There is nothing unusual about this development as those described here should however constantly remind us that prior to reaching out for cross language comparison, language internal configurations have to be assessed.

#### Notes :

<sup>1</sup> The statements made here about the accentuation system in Tocharian B repeat observations published by a student of mine (Marggraf [1970]) and myself (Winter [1980]). They help to avoid the difficulties and internal inconsistencies found in Krause (1952), Krause—Thomass (1960) and Van Windekens (1976). The most recent treatment of the topic Bonfante (1986) suffers greatly from excessive carelessness in the presentation of the materials and a disturbing lack of rigorous thinking and argumentation: the article can safely be disregarded here.

# The Treatment of Ṛ in Old Indo-Aryan

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

The treatment of the Indo-European (=IE) *r* (as also Indo-Iranian (=IIr) *r*) in Old Indo-Aryan (=OIA) and Middle Indo-Aryan (=MIA) is manifold. This IE *r* is fully preserved in OIA as *r* and it becomes *ara* in Avestan and *ar* (*ra*) in Old Persian (=OP). In MIA it is changed into different vowels such as *a*, *i*, *u* preceded or followed by *r*. The reason why *r* is changed into different vowels accompanied or preceded by *r* is difficult to ascertain. But it is a normal guess that the change of *r* into different vowels is generally determined by the influence of the consonants which stand in the vicinity of the original *r*. The usual change of *r* is *ura* or *ra*, and the sibilants or palatals change it into *iri* or *ri* and the labials to *uri* or *ru*. This fact can partly be substantiated by a comparative study of the Iranian and Indian materials as preserved in the phonetic treatises of India. The present study reveals the fact that some amount of reason can be traced on the basis of pronunciation of *r* as prevalent in the time of the dissemination of the Indo-Iranian people as a branch of Indo-European.

The pronunciation of *r* as recorded in different phonetic texts might play a prominent part in the transformation of the sound into MIA. It is a fact worth noting that in the *Pratyakhyas* and in some *Śikṣas* the cerebral pronunciation of *r* is not recorded. The earliest available record of the cerebral pronunciation of *r* and *r̥* may be noticed in the *Varṇa Sūtra* of Candragomin (*murdha ṛ-tu-ra-sānam*, No. 6) the lower limit of whose date according to Leibich was the seventh century A.D. It is possible that the later grammarians of the Pāṇinian school and some of the *Śikṣas* borrowed this opinion from Candragomin, whose work exercised considerable influence on the later development of Indian grammatical literature. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita (1630 A.D.) on Panini's *lulvāṣya-pravāṇam savarnam* (1.19) records that *r* is cerebral (*ṛ-tu-ṛa-sānam murdhaḥ*). However, the pronunciation of *r* as recorded in the phonetic texts is tabulated thus:

(See p. 120)

From this it appears that *r* was a velar (*gḥvāmuliya*) should in RP VP AP and RKT i.e. its place of origin is the root of the tongue while TP describes it as an alveolar or post-dental, i.e. the tongue touches the gum above the upper teeth, whereas in PS and Sanskrit grammar it is a cerebral sound.



	Velar jihvāmuliya	Alveolar	Cerebral
ṛ	RP ṛkāra-ṛkāra vatha ṣaṣṭha usmā jihvāmuliyaḥ (I 18) AP jihvāmuliyanārp hanumulam (I 20) a comm. under it cf also VP I 65, 69 RKT 4	TP upasam hṛta + are ca jihvāgram ṛkāra-r-kāra-ṛ- kāreṣu harsvesō- prasamharati (II 18) harsva = 'the high places behind the row of teeth'	PS syur murdhanya ṛ-ṣu-ra-yaḥ (17) cf Candrago- min quoted above

The velar quality of ṛ might be responsible for its change into a which is also a velar sound, as is also corroborated by the evidence of Avestan *ərə* and OP *ar* side by side with *ur*. As the *r* quality is not lost altogether in Avestan and OP its development into *ar* or *ra* is quite obvious. This is evident in the Asokan Nya or Kharosthi Prakrit in the Western part of India where *r* is preserved.

This velar pronunciation of ṛ seems to be the oldest and therefore this oldest tendency of ṛ is to transform ṛ into a through *ar* or *ra* as the place of utterance is the same. This tendency first started in the Iranian and was preserved in the R̥gveda. For example in the RV we find *vikṛta* and *vikāṭa*, *vṛta* and *vaṭa*, *hṛta* and *hhaṭa*, *nṛi* and *naṭa* used side by side. In Iranian also the change of ṛ to *ar* or *ərə* is quite frequent, e.g. Av *aparənaṇyu* 'boy', Phl *apurnavak*, NP *harnā*, *burnā*; Av *karəma* 'warm', Phl *karm*, NP *kirm*, Av *sarəta* 'cold', Phl *sarj*, NP *sard*. This change of ṛ to *a* occurs in almost all stages of MIA. For instance OIA *mṛta* > As *matā*, Pā *matā*, Pkt *maa*; OIA *mṛga* > As *maga* (G) Pā *maga*, Pkt *man*, OIA *apakṛṣṭa* > As *apakāṭha*, Pkt *apakatṭha*; OIA *prakṛta* Nya *pragata* Pā *pagata*, Pkt *paṣa-pavaṇa*, OIA *ṛṣaheta* Nya *anahetu*; OIA *kṛta* > Pā *kata*, Pkt *kaṇkava*, OIA *grha* > Pā *gaha*, Pkt *gaha-val*; OIA *ghṛta* > Pā *ghata*, Pkt *ghaa*; OIA *mṛtyu* > Pā Pkt *maccu*; OIA *sakṛta* > Pkt *sakkava*.

The alveolar quality of ṛ as given by TP might have influenced its change into *i* also accompanied or preceded by *r*. For example OIA *kṛta* > As *kṛṭa* (M) OIA *mṛga* > As *mṛga* (M) *miga* (DJ) OIA *kṛtya* Nya *kica*; OIA *kṛta* > Nya *kida*, OIA *ṛpa* > Pā *ipa*, Pkt *ipa/riṇa*; OIA *ṛṣi* > Pā Pkt *isa*; OIA *ṛṇa* > Pā Pkt *tiṇa*, also *tapa* in Pkt. The change of ṛ to *i* occurs also in the Iranian dialects.

e.g., OIA *trspā* > Av *trašna* 'thirst', Phl *tišn*, NP *tiš*; Av *araša* 'bear', Phl NP *xirs*, Kurd *vir*, *hirs*; Av *garapta* 'seized', NP *girištah*, Bal. *gipta*.

In Niyā Prakrit the regular treatment of *r* is *ri*. Sometimes the written form is found as *r* or *rr* though perhaps the actual pronunciation would be *ri*; e.g., OIA *kṛta* > Niyā *kṛita*, OIA *kṛṣṭi* > Niyā *kṛisati*, OIA *ghṛta* > NP *ghṛida*, OIA *gṛhastha* > Niyā *grihasta*, OIA *dṛḍha* > NP *driḥha*, OIA *pricchati* > Niyā *prichati*. In Pali also *r* becomes *ri* as also in Pkt, e.g., OIA *ṛte* > Pā *rite*, Pkt *nie*; OIA *ṛddhi* > Pkt *riddhi*.

Apart from the fact that the influence of the neighbouring labial sound often changes *r* to *u* also accompanied by *r*, the evidence of the *Prātisakhyas* is not strong enough to record its pronunciation with a labial sound which is preserved in some NIA languages, such as, Oriya, Marathi, and even in some south Indian languages. But we have evidence by which we can say that the combination of *r*+*t* is often changed to *u* in the Western region, e.g., OIA *ṛtu* > Pkt *uu*, in Maharaṣṭri. The change of *r* to *u* is also one of the earliest phenomena which is found in OP as well as in RV e.g., V *kṛ* > OIA 2nd imp *kuru* (as if from \**krou*), OIA *kṛnoti* > Pkt *kupai*. This change of *r* to *u* is not due to the immediate association of a labial consonant. But on the contrary instances are available where the same word is found with *u* and other vowels as well. Historically *u* is the general tendency in Asokan and in later inscriptions such as, Gandhara and Niyā in the North Western Prakrits. For example, OIA *vṛkṣa* > As *vṛacha* (C) Pkt *vaccha*, *rukha*. Grammatically, though *rukha* is derived from *vṛkṣa*, it can really be derived from *rukṣa* which has become *rukha* in Pkt and Pali and its modern Indian cognates are Old Beng *ruk*, U'r *rūkha* Mar *rūkh*, Smh *ruk*, *rik*, Gsp *ruk*. Other examples are OIA *mṛta* > As *muṭa*; OIA *mṛga* > As *mruga*; OIA *vṛddha* > As *yuddha*.

The evidences of Niyā, Pali and Pkt show that the development of *r* into *u* is very regular, e.g., OIA *bhṛti* > Niyā *hudṛi*, OIA *prabhṛta* > Niyā *prahuda*; OIA *ṛtu* > Pā *utu*, Pkt *uu* (M) *udu* (S), OIA *ṛsabha* > Pā *usabha*, Pkt *usaha*, *usaha*; OIA *vṛddha* > Pā *yuddha*, Pkt *yuddha*. In Iranian dialects this tendency is also noticed, e.g., Av *karanaoti* 'makes', Paz *kunon*, NP *kunad*, Gil *kudan*, also *kardan*, OIA *akṛnavam* 'I did' > OP *akunavam*, OIA *akṛnot* > OP *akunaus* (cf Av *karata* 'done'), Av *varaḍka* 'kidney', Phl *gurtak*, NP *gurdah*, Bal *gutny*. Both in Niyā and Pali *r* is developed into *ru*, e.g., OIA *pricchati* > Niyā *pruchati*; OIA *mṛduka* > Niyā *mruduka*; OIA *prsthesu* > Niyā *pruthesu*. In Pali OIA *br̥ṇhayati* becomes *brūheti*.

Though instances are available where  $\bar{r}$  is changed to  $e$ , this is very rare both in OIA and MIA, and also in Iranian, e.g. OIA *grha* > *geha* (both in OIA and MIA), Old Hindi *geha*, Mar. *geh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*. OIA *grhya* > Pkt. *gejha* (also in As). The As *dekhati* (cf. OIA *grekṣate*) presupposes \**dr̥kṣyati* in the sense of *drakṣyati*. OIA *hr̥taṭphala* > Pā. *beha-pphala*. Ar. *varaśa* 'forest' > Phl. *vēśak*, NP. *beśah*.

The change of  $\bar{r}$  to  $o$  is extremely rare except one or two instances it is seldom found e.g. OIA *mṛṣā* > Pkt. *mosā*, *mūsā*, Pā. *musā*, so also OIA *mṛṣāvādin* > Pkt. *mosāvān*, *mūsavān*, P. *musāvādi(n)*.

It is to be noted that though  $\bar{r}$  is altogether lost in MIA, its retention in Apabhraṃśa may be regarded as a sort of Sanskritization which began at the time of Apabhraṃśa and perpetuated at the emergence of NIA dialects. For example, OIA *tṛṇa* > Ap. *tṛṇu* *tanu*, *ṭṇu*, OIA *sukṛta* > Ap. *sukṛdu*, *sukidu*.

The above survey, at least, tells us that the pronunciation of  $\bar{r}$  was not uniform throughout the ages. This fact is also corroborated by the evidences of the *Prātisākhya*s and *Sikṣā*s which have recorded the different types of pronunciation of  $\bar{r}$  as were current in ancient times. The change of  $\bar{r}$  into  $a, i, u$  accompanied by  $r$  shows the type of pronunciation of  $\bar{r}$ . In some areas  $\bar{r}$  was pronounced with an  $a$ -colouring vowel, and in some with  $i$ - or  $u$ -colouring. In all cases it is accompanied by  $r$ . These different types of pronunciation are nothing but dialectal, and as a result they have developed accordingly even in OIA and also in MIA. This still holds good in the NIA dialects.

### Notes and References

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# Reconstruction of Proto-Boro Consonants

Swapan Kumar Bandyopadhyay

The Boro languages are spread over the east and north-east region of India. Boro is a cover term for a member of languages, such as Boro, Garo, Mech, Rabha, Koch etc. Grierson (1926) recognised the Boro group of languages and their affiliation with the Tibeto-Burman family. However, R. Burling is the first scholar to attempt a systematic study of Proto-Boro (*Language* 1959:35,3).

The object of the present paper is to determine the phonemic relationship among the constituents of the Boro group and to reconstruct the consonant phonemes of Proto-Boro.

The material was collected from North Bengal and Assam. The speakers of Rabha and Mech dwell along the borders of North Bengal and Assam. Kokrajhar district of Assam and Garo hills of Meghalaya are the main centres of Boro and Garo. Some Garo speakers are also found in the forests of North Bengal.

First, the consonant phonemes of each language have been discussed. Then a list of cognates have been arranged to establish the proto form. The phonemic correspondences are considered for reconstruction.

Syllable plays an important role in Tibeto-Burman languages. The minimum syllabic structure of a language of Boro group is vowel, or a vowel preceded and/or followed by a consonant. The initial syllable of a disyllabic word ends either in a vowel or a consonant (CV or CVC). The boundary between two syllable is marked by a hyphen (-).

In Boro, Mech and Garo languages /pʰk/ are highly aspirated initially and /bdg/ are sometimes weakly voiced. /c/ realized as affricates in these languages and they are absent in Boro and Mech. Among the fricatives the presence of /ʃh/ is noticed in all languages. /z/ is present in Boro and Mech only. A voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is found only in Rabha. In Boro and Rabha /s/ is sometimes



realized as [ts]- a dental affricate. The frequency of *tʃ* is not regular. The languages show the presence of three nasals *m, n, ŋ* and liquids *l, r*. The only semivowel *w* is found in Boro and Garo. All the consonants except *ŋ* and *lʃ* can occur initially. Other syllabic final consonants are */m n r l p t k/*.

The consonant phonemes of Boro, Mech, Rabha and Garo are as follows:

Boro	Mech	Rabha	Garo
p t k ?	p t k ?	p t k ?	p t k ?
b d g	b d g	b d g	b d g
m n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n ŋ
r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l
s z ʃ h	s z ʃ h	c)	c)
w		Φ s ʃ h	s ʃ
			w

A list of cognates is given below. As already mentioned the data is phonemicized and the entries under each language would show the correspondences of consonants. On the basis of correspondences of consonant segments tentatively, proto-Boro consonants have been reconstructed. A list of proto-Boro consonants is followed with the list of cognates.

# COGNATES OF BORO-MECH-RABHA-GARO

Boro	Mech	Rabha	Garo	Gloss
ha-to pla	ha-to plu	Φuŋ ɲi	tap pa	ashes
ga-zu	ga-zou	kir	go ʃak	above
taŋ nai	taŋ nai	teŋ a	taŋ a	live
—	ʃ x(m)-na	ʃaŋ	ʃiŋ	ask for
a-pak-ŋ	pak na	Φak ar	pak-wal	armpit
wa ?	ba ?	ba	wa ?	bamboo
hi gur	hi gur	bo lak	biɣu t l	back skin
mu pur	mi pur	mak Φ u	mak pur-l	heart
be-re ?	be re		bi ɲa	bee
ge der	ge-ɬet	kɔ ta	ga dat	big

<i>Boro</i>	<i>Mech</i>	<i>Rabha</i>	<i>Garo</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
dao	dao	tou	dou	bird
gt ka	gt-ka	ka ?-a	ka ? a	bitter
ga-šum	ga-šom		gi-šim	black
taɪ	ti	ci	an-ci	blood
bar	bar	Φar	bal/r	blow
		ruŋ	riŋ	boat
be-geŋ	be-geŋ	ke-reŋ	ge-reŋ	bone
šu-lao	ca-leo	deu-ta	sro-a ?	borrow
me-lem	me-lem	tu-luŋ	ta-riŋ	brain
ba ?	ba ?	pa ?	ba ?	carry (on back)
ga-tɔ	ga-tə	sa	bi-sa	child
ʃi	ʃi	ʃok-ɔk	—	cloth
ko-kap	kau-kap	ka-toɪ-ɔk	ku-dum-ɔk	chin
bur-nai	bat-co-na	pa-ni	bat-ta	cross
gap	gap	kan-ce	ga-pa	cry
dan	dan	tan	den-a	cut
san	san	san	sal	day, sun
m ɪ	m ɪ	mak-c ɔk	mat-c ɔk	deer
toi	ti	ci	si	die
zao	zao		cok	dig
si-maŋ	si-maŋ	si-m ɔŋ	so-maŋ	dream
lɔŋ-	lɔŋ-	leŋ	riŋ	drink
ran	ran	ran	ran	dry
ki	ki	ki	ki	dung
me-g ɔn	m ɔ-g ɔn	m ɔ-kar	mik-g ɔn	eye
ha ?	ha ?	ha	ha ?-a	earth
za	za	car	ca ?	eat
mɔi-der	m ɪ-det	mom-pou	m ɔŋ-ma	elephant
gik-la	gok-lai	ka-rei	ga ? a ka	fall
gU-zam	ga-zan	pi-cen	cel-a	far
gi	gi-	kir	gen	fear
gaŋ	gaŋ	ka-raŋ	ga-raŋ	leather
a-si	nā-si	ci-si	si	finger
ɔr	har	bar	wal	fire
na ?	na ?	na	na ?-tok	fish
ba	ba	poŋ-a	boŋ a	five

<i>Boro</i>	<i>Mech</i>	<i>Rahha</i>	<i>Garo</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
bi-hat	bi-bar	pat	bi-bal	flower
bir	bir	pu-wa	bir	fly
bi-tei	bi-tei	tei	bi-te	fruit
mɔ-kəŋ	mɔ-kəŋ	maŋ	ma-kəŋ	face
mən	mən	ma-sa	man-a	get
ha-zəŋ	ha-zəŋ	cɪŋ-kou	i-cɪŋ	ginger
hɛt	hɔ-nɔʔ	hao-a	nə-naʔ	give
ka-naɪ	ka-	kə-mən	kin-i	hair
a-kai	a-kae	cak-aŋ	jak	hand
doŋ	doŋ	toŋ	doŋ-a	have
kɔ-rɔ	kə-rə	tək-am	ɔ-kɔ	head
ka-na	ka-na	na	ka-naʔ-a	heat
gi-lir	gi-lit	lia	—	heavy
huʔ-kor	haʔ-kor	ha-kor	a-kɔr	hole
kɪŋ	gəŋ	kɔ-rɪŋ	grɪŋ	horn
gu-duŋ	gu-duŋ	tuŋ	dɪŋ-a	hot
noʔ	nɔʔ	nɔ	nək	house
bi	bi	u	bi-a	he
aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	I
bi-bu	bi-bu	puk	ɔk-bi-bɛtɪk	intestine
sər	sər	sər	sɛtɪ	iron
mi-ni	ni-ni	mi-ni	—	laugh
gɔp-lɪŋ	gəp-lɪŋ	kap-ləŋ	—	leak
lu-wat	lu-at	i-lu	e-ru	leech
se-la-	ce-la	ce-lək	se-ra	back
gu-sut-ti	gɛt sut-ti	hu-sɪŋ	kau-sɪt	lip
mɔ-kra	mɔ-kra	mɔ-ka	ma-kre	monkey
puŋ	puŋ	pe-taŋ	pe-sɪŋ	morning
haʔ-zɪ-ma	haʔ-zɔ	ha-cur	—	mountain
ku-ga	kau	hu	ku-aŋ	mouth
tai-zou	tai-zeu	hɔ-cɪt	te-ga-cu	mango
mɛŋ	mən	məŋ	bi-mɛŋ	name
gɔn-tɪŋ	gun-tuŋ	nɔ-kuŋ	gən-tɪŋ	nose
o-ma	ba-ma	bək	wək	pig
bi-paŋ	paŋ	Φaŋ	paŋ	plant
lam-a	lam-a	lam	ram-a	road
zu-mai	zou	cə-kɪt	cu	rice beer

<i>Boro</i>	<i>Mech</i>	<i>Rabha</i>	<i>Garo</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
mai	mac	mai	mi-gil	rice (paddy)
mai-roŋ	mae-roŋ	mai-roŋ	mi-roŋ	rice (uncooked)
ʔ-ka	no-ka	raŋ-ka	mɔʔ-ka	rain
en-zɔt	in zut	mʔ-cɔt	mi-ce	rat
rɔ-da	rə-da	cɔ-tur	jaʔ-dɔl	root
ge-seo	ge sea	ʔi-sou	so-a	rotten
ʃoŋ-kri	ʃoŋ krei	ʃom	ka-ri	salt
pan	pan-nɔ	ʔan-ni	pal-la	sell
sni	si-ni	su	sin	seven
ɔn-tai	ɔn-tai	loŋ-tai	roŋ-te	stone
gɔ-sɔŋ	gɔ-sɔŋ	sap	sa-deŋ	stand
pap-li	pap li	ʔaŋ-roŋ	pak-rɔŋ	shoulder
pi-sa	bi sa	sa	bi-sa	son
lan zɛi	lan zi	ci-met	kiʔ-mi	tail
ʃuʔ	ʃuʔ	ʃu	bu-ʃuʔ	thorn
tam	tam	tam	gil-lam	three
sa lai	sa lai	se-lai	sre	tongue
ga-raŋ	ga raŋ	kan cel	kuʔ-raŋ	voice
kan nai	gan-	kan	cin-na	wear
dɔ	dɔ	ci ka	ci	water
han zao	hun-zao	mi cik	me cik	woman
sɔr	sɔr	saŋ	sa wa	who
ba-bao	ba	hi aŋ	ba ci	where
bi-pa	a-pa	ʔi pa	ʔ pa	father
noŋ	naŋ	noŋ	naʔ-a	you

Comparing the correspondences tentative Prot-Boro consonants have been established. A list of Proto Boro Consonants and their derivation in different daughter languages is given below. The abbreviations used here are as follows: Boro=B, Mech=M, Rabha=R, Garo=G. Initial and final position of a syllable is indicated as (I) and (F).

\*p(I) > B p, M p, R ʔ, G p, Ex ashes, bear, plant

\*p(F) > B p, M p, R p, G ʃ, Ex shoulder, leak

\*t(I) > B t, M t, R t, G t, Ex ashes alive, blood, die fruit, three stone

\*t(F) > B t, M t, R t, G t, Ex. cross, leech, rat, rice-beer.



- \*k(l) > B k M k, R k h, G k, Ex chin dung rain, mouth wear  
 \*k(h) > B ʔ M ʔ, R k g k Ex armpit deer intestine woman  
 \*h(l) > B b M h R p G b, Ex bark bee blow carry cross  
 intestine he fruit fly flower five wind where  
 \*d(l) > B d M d R t G d Ex big bird cut meat tooth have water  
 \*g(l) > B g M g R k G g Ex above big black bark bitter cry  
 eye fall fear feather leak lip nose  
 \*m(l) > B m M m R m G m Ex bear dear dream eye get  
 monkey name paddy woman elephant  
 m(h) > B m M m R m G m Ex black road three  
 \*n(l) > B n M n R n G n Ex cut day dry eye get sell sun wear  
 \*n(h) > B n M n R n G n Ex cut day dry eye get sell sun wear  
 ŋ(h) > B ŋ M ŋ R ŋ G ŋ Ex alive ask bone dream drink  
 leather lice ginger hot horn I light many morning  
 name, nose, plant, rice, tree, you  
 r(l) > B r M r R r G r Ex light rice bark voice dry  
 r(h) > B r M r R r G r Ex flower fly hole wind bear fire bark  
 l(h) > B l M l R l G l Ex road leak beech lick  
 t(l) > B n M n R n G t Ex day salt far  
 c(h) > B ʔ M ʔ R c G c Ex blood eat ginger mountain mango  
 rice-beer woman, deer, far, fat  
 p(l) > B ʔ M ʔ R c G t Ex hand meat root  
 s(h) > B s M s R s G s Ex day dream finger iron lip seven  
 stand, son, tongue, who  
 \*ʃ(l) > B ʃ M ʃ R ʃ, G ʃ, Ex ask cloth, black  
 h(h) > B h M h R h G ʔ Ex earth hole  
 \*d(h) > B ʔ M ʔ R ʔ G ʔ Ex bamboo carry fish house thorn earth  
 w(l) > B w M b R b G w Ex bamboo pig

The tentative proto-Boro consonants after a careful analysis of the consonant correspondence of Boro, Mechi, Rebha and Guro could be as follows:

p	t	k	ʔ
b	d	g	
m	n	ŋ	
		r	
		l	
		ʃ	
w	s	ʒ	h

All the consonants except \*ʔ and \*ŋ can occur initially. \*tʰ and \*s occurred only in syllable final position. \*p, t, k, m, n, r, l occurred both syllable initially and finally.

The relation between proto-Boro and its daughter languages is shown as follows. \*p changes to φ in Rabha initially and lost finally in Garo. \*k is lost finally in Boro and Mechi. \*b and \*m, n, ŋ and \*r do not show any change in these languages. \*l changes to r in Garo initially but remain unchanged finally, whereas it changes to n in Boro, Mechi and Rabha. The affricate \*tʃ changes to voiced fricative z in Boro and Mechi and \*ʃ is lost in Boro and Mechi and realized as c in Rabha. \*w changes to bilabial plosive b in Mechi and Rabha. \*h and \*z show their absence in Garo and Rabha respectively.

The present analysis of proto-Boro shows a conformity with analysis of Burling published about thirty years ago. The number of proto-consonants, their place and manner of articulation stated in both the analyses (Burling's and the present one) is similar except that the present analysis attested a palatal fricative \*ʃ which is realized unchanged in all languages.

The observation made by Burling about \*p is to be noted here again. Similar observation about the existence of \*p has been made in this paper. Initially \*p is highly aspirated in all languages except in Rabha where a bilabial fricative φ exists in place of \*p. Considering the frequency of occurrence of \*p in final position of a syllable and presence of \*b suggested the existence of \*p in these languages.

The comparison of the consonant phoneme reveals that the languages are very close to each other and particularly Boro and Mechi have a closer relationship.

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# On the Genealogy of Darius

Bhabataran Datta

A discrepancy is noticed\* in the genealogy of Darius I (522-480 BC) as stated by himself in his Behistan Inscriptions (Column I) where he claimed that he is the ninth sovereign to rule Persia. Our first suspicion arises when Darius counted in the genealogy the name of his father Hystaspes (late 6th cent. BC) as a sovereign, while Hystaspes was actually a *vazir* of Persia under Cyrus II (559-529 BC) and Cambyses II (529-522 BC). It was only when Darius seized the throne in 522 BC that Hystaspes joined his son Darius. A further prodding of the personal nomenclature will further reveal another discrepancy. Our second suspicion arises when Darius, as the ninth sovereign, mentioned the names of only five sovereigns as his predecessors. They are Hystaspes, Ariamnes, Ariaramnes (640-618 BC), Teispes and Achaemenes (early 7th cent. BC) instead of the expected eight, which would have justified his statements. It is interesting to note here that Darius himself "belonged to a collateral branch of the royal family, and as his father and grandfather were alive at his accession, it is unlikely that he was next in line to the throne".

More interesting to note that Darius himself accompanied Cambyses II, the son of Cyrus II, on his bid to the throne in Egypt as a member of the royal bodyguard. After the death of Cambyses II in the summer of 522 BC, Darius hastened to Media, where in September, with the help of six Persian nobles, he killed Bardiya (Smerdis), another son of Cyrus II, who had usurped the throne the previous March (and seized the throne). His father Hystaspes joined him. Our third suspicion arises as to the integrity of Darius I, who was a member of the collateral branch of the royal family and once a member of the royal bodyguard in Egypt, when he defended this murder of Bardiya (Smerdis) and his own assumption of kingship on the grounds that the usurper to the throne was not Smerdis but Gaumata, a Magian, who impersonated Bardiya after Bardiya had been murdered secretly by Cambyses II and ultimately claimed himself to be the restorer of the kingship to the rightful Achaemenid house. The inscribed story of Darius, however, is being contradicted by

\*This was brought to my notice by Dr. Subhagat Kumar Sen, Department of Linguistics, Calcutta University.

some modern scholars who considered that Darius invented the story of Gaumata in order to justify his actions which was to say the least a political intrigue

However, as to the discrepancy in the genealogy of Darius (himself belonging to a collateral branch of the royal family), we find that he did mention the names of the five of his sovereign ancestors and not eight as he should have done. But with reference to his accession to the kingship we know that before 522 BC – the year of his usurpation to the kingship – we have in record a galaxy of four sovereigns like Cambyses II (529-522 BC), Cyrus II (559-529 BC) who came from a long line of ruling chiefs, Cambyses I (600-559 BC) and Cyrus I (late 7th cent BC). In that case Darius' sovereign position would have been the tenth one but the lacuna persists. Anyway, *xšayathiya xša [xšayavanam xšayathiya parsany xšathiya dahvanam]* *vistaspahyā puša darivaya*(thus could have maintained a discreet silence as to the mystery of the two collateral branches, claiming a hoary lineage

### Notes

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# The Dizfūtī a dialect of modern Persian

Chunmoy Dutt

Prior to my study of Iranian Dialectology I was under the impression that although the Iranian dialects as such were many, there was only one language spoken throughout Iran. But now we have proved that the fact was otherwise. Every province in Iran has got a distinct dialect of its own—sometimes there are more than one variety current in the same district—and often a particular local dialect happens to be so different from Modern Persian as to merit recognition and status of a language on its own. Frequently we find the townsmen to have largely adopted the standard speech with slight local modifications, but the inhabitants of the country sides round about are still conservative and stick to the pure form of the old dialect or language—thus bringing about a marked difference between the urban and the rural vulgar speech throught the whole of Iran generally.

Besides the speeches shown in the chart are generally described as dialects of modern Persian, there are other languages spoken within the frontiers of Iran. Kurdish is an important Iranian language—a sister speech of Modern Persian—and this is spoken by a good many tribes in Western Iran. But the Kurds who are Persian subjects invariably learn and use modern Persian. There are some Turki speakers and some Arabs also besides Beluchis—who are Iranians just like the Kurds and the Iranians proper.

The present work contains a collection of Dizfuli words collected from Dr. J. M. Unvalac monograph—*Contribution to modern Persian Dialectology* the Lurs and Dizfuli dialects published in *Indo Iranica* in 1955. The Dizfulis were generally residing in the Poshtu Kut region in Iran and the people of Dizful are considered to be a mixture of Lurs and Arabs. The Dizful dialect could keep up its existence as little contaminated as possible by modern Persian, Arabic and Turkish, and if it had borrowed words from these languages they had already undergone peculiar native phonetic changes and they have become irrecongnisable as Sanskrit.

As this dialect has no literature and as the Persian characters and particularly script which do not record short vowels would not faithfully record their exact pronunciation.

The Dizfuli and other Iranian dialects run the risk of extinction with the spread of the rapid means of communication in Iran coupled with the compulsory education through modern Persian and the compulsory military service. But only tape recording of spontaneous conversations or discourses by this tribesmen in their native dialects would give I think the best help to the study of Iranian dialects with the accents and sounds, sound sequences and intonations peculiar to them.

### Phonetic Changes

- 1 Per 'a' is changed in Diz. to 'e' e.g. Per dōman Diz dōman hem Per waragaw Diz warzo = a ploughing ox
- 2 Per 'u' is changed in Diz. to 'e' e.g. Per hununz Diz hune = yet still
- 3 Per 'o' is changed in Diz. to 'a' e.g. Per khordan Diz khardan = to eat
- 4 Per 'h' is changed to Diz. 'kh' e.g. Per hizum Diz khima = fire-wood
- 5 Per 'j' is changed in Diz. to 'y' e.g. Per kija Diz kuya = where
- 6 Per 'k' is changed to Diz. 'ch' e.g. Per nauk Diz nach = the nib of a pen

Besides these phonetic changes, Assimilation, Contraction, Elision, disintegration and Onomatopoeia are also found in Dizfuli. Foreign words from Avestan, Pāzand, Pahlavi, French, Russian, Arabic are also found in Dizfuli. The Plural number is formed by the suffix —un and an for the animate beings and sometimes also for the inanimate objects e.g. Diz. khesht-pl. kheshtia-nna = bricks. The following dialectal verb forms are met with Per. √ amadan = to come -Diz. ama, Per. √ istadan = to stand -Diz. wastadim = We were standing. Per. beistad, Diz. westa, Per. √ kardan to do, Diz. √ kartan. Per. √ menidan. Diz. √ manindan/ √ manestan, Per. √ raftan = to go. Diz. √ nui = thou goest. The Per. emphatic particle /be/ which precedes the imperative is very often dropped in Dizfuli. This emphatic particle /be/ is often employed in Diz. in place of Persian. mi- showing the continuity of an action which is derived from Per. hamev = always in some cases Per. /mi/ is replaced by —ma— in Dizfuli.

### Glossary

1. ise/isa, P. isā = now, ready
2. Pishin P. pishin = early, forenoon morning

3. hanī. P. hūnūz = still, yet
4. use/usā. P. ān waqt = then
5. dōmā. P. daman = behind/backwards
6. ilatar. P. in tahtar = here
7. tā. P. andar = in, inside
8. kuyā. P. kily = where
9. chāp. P. chāp = upside down
10. pahlū. P. piche = before, in company with
11. darzē. P. az payin = from below
12. bē/bi. P. bi = without
13. mer. P. mar = perhaps
14. pal pe. P. kalan = large, great, big
15. hil. P. hil = blond, blond man
16. puk. P. puk = halloū, deep
17. cherkan. P. chargin = filthy, dirty, rusty
18. porr. P. porr = lull
19. chadar. P. in qadr = of this size
20. akadar. P. an qadr = of that size
21. pandamda. P. khisamda = soaked
22. kaluch. P. keluḡ = squint-eyed
23. kōrs. P. sett sett = tight, fast, compact
24. yaru. P. yaru = a friend
25. kalla. P. binamak = unsalted
26. waruna. P. warun/warūha = upside down
27. henuh. P. az ānhā = from these
28. warzō. P. warzāw = a ploughing ox
29. gōsāla = P. gosāl = calf
30. kōr. P. kurre = the colt of a horse, camel or ass
31. tura. P. chaqāl shakāl shaghāl = jackal
32. bozila. P. burghala/ghale = kid
33. mādyūn. P. mādyān = mare
34. mushk mōshk. P. mush mushak = mouse, musk-rat
35. gērza. P. garza = field mouse, a very venomous kind of serpent
36. chula. P. kharpusht = porcupine
37. karkadan. P. kerkedan = rhinoceros
38. gomur gawaz. P. guzen/guzenah = stag
39. karkadan. P. kerkedan karkaddan = a female rhinoceros cf. Skt. khadgadhenū khargadhenukā



- 40 gomaz gawaz P. gazon kuzendi stag deer doe cf. Phl. gavazan  
a mountain-ox
- 41 gonj P. mun/zambar bee
- 42 hazar pa P. hazar pa sid pa centipede
- 43 bak P. wizar cf. phl. xaz leaf
- 44 zah P. zah/zah leech
- 45 lala/ambalû P. buzmaja = lizard
- 46 kek P. kark = louse (clothes—)
- 47 shapash P. shapish shapash lease (thru)
- 48 req P. reqq/raqq = tortoise
- 49 karzhang P. karzhang = turtle crab
- 50 hubara P. hobara = bustard
- 51 dal P. dal = eagle cf. Phl. datman
- 52 bangash P. gunjeshk = sparrow
- 53 parastu/  
parastuk P. parastu-parastug paristak swallow
- 54 pasi P. pasin = evening
- 55 challa chella P. chahla period of forty days
- 56 dishkardinya P. dina = yesterday
- 57 jah P. jaw bark
- 58 bagila P. baqila butter bean
- 59 lubya P. luba/lubya = haricot
- 60 mash P. mash = lentil
- 61 kurr-kurr P. kurr = green peas
- 62 babuna P. babuna = camomile
- 63 dabba P. dabba & buzorg cedar/cedric
- 64 ghura P. ghare ruc untape grapes or dates
- 65 kesh mesh P. keshmesh = grapes
- 66 mawiz P. mawiz dried grapes raisins
- 67 badang P. badrang an orange cf. Phl. uatrang
- 68 henduna/  
hendunna P. shaman water melon a small water melon
- 69 nimbul nimbul P. nimbul orange sweet & very juicy
- 70 katar P. kunar papaya tree lote tree Phl. konar
- 71 balg P. barg = leaf
- 72 jg P. jagh poplar the ebony tree
- 73 wahsh P. espend espen wild rue
- 74 konji P. kunjd sesame Phl. kunjit



- 75 dārdolā kerm P anguzh = assafoetida  
 76 dārchini P darchini = cinnamon  
 77 kalap P kalam = cabbage/cauliflower  
 78 zardak P zardak gazar = carrot  
 79 kishniz P kishniz/kishnish kishnaz  
     = coriander cf. Phl gasniē gnšniz  
 80 bhangun P badanjān/badinjan = brinjal/egg-plant  
 81 goshniz P kishniz/ghishniz tenel coriander seed  
 82 sōzi P. sabzi torup = green  
 83 kōwi/kawī P kähū = lettuce  
 84 tarapcha P torh/turb/turuh = radish  
 85 espenaj holhā P shumā spinach  
 86 zardak P. zard-chuh = turmeric  
 87 shalgham P shalgham turnip  
 88 dombal P dombā/domināl = carbuncle  
 89 tapolarr P tab-e darza = an ague  
 90 bawasir P bawāsir = hemorrhoids  
 91 kachal P. keš = scurf-afflicted  
 92 pasham P hasham = an indisposition arising from indigestion  
 93 chaspan chaspidan P chaspidan = to adhere to  
 94 bisa-ā P. būda-ast = it has been  
 95 shekāflān P shekāftan = to break  
 96 logoz khandan P lughz lughiz = to carry on conversation  
 97 khandan P. khurdan = to eat  
 98 gadaghan kardan P gadaghan kardan = to forbid  
 99 ashnultan P shanudan shundag = to hear  
 100 makidan P makidan mazidan = to lick to suck  
 101 puka zadin P be sar zadin = to put on the head  
 102 timar kardan P timar kardan = to scrub (a horse)  
 103 pandandān P khesidan = to moisten  
 104 khal kuhidan P khal kardan = to tattoo  
 105 part kardan P partaw kardan = to throw away  
 106 kun P. kun = anus  
 107. nōch P. nōk/nauk = bill of a bird  
 108. khin P. khūn = blood  
 109 as/ast P. ast/ostakhān = bone  
 110 mok P. maghz/damgh = brain  
 111. nōk-e pistun P sar-e pistun = nipple of the breast



112. rī P. rū = face  
 113. uk P. peshāhī = forehead  
 114. pastac pa P. pashina/pashnā = heel  
 115. somba P. sumb/sum = hoof  
 116. kachah P. chāna = jaw-bone  
 117. kos P. kos kus = pudendum muliebre  
 118. dandūn P. dandan = tooth  
 119. ghobar tuztus P. گرد e khak = dust/dust storm  
 120. kamarka/kamarke P. āwāz-e hāzgasht = echo  
 121. kerr P. khir/khirā = fog  
 122. tagar P. tagarg + zala/ghāla = hail  
 123. kerr/karr P. khir/khire = mist  
 124. astare/asare P. setāra = star  
 125. bailla P. dastkash = glove  
 126. choga P. chokh/chokha = tunic  
 127. ruband P. ruband = veil  
 128. arūsak P. arusek = doll  
 129. qomar P. qimar = gambling  
 130. gargarak P. bādfar/farfar = top  
 131. kor P. kurra = boy (the colt of a horse/camel or ass)  
 132. bachuñ P. bachagān = children  
 133. būa P. pedar, kākā = father  
 134. māt/mor P. mādār = mother  
 135. khush P. khwushavand = brethren/friends  
 136. kaimak P. chathā = clotted cream  
 137. dolma P. dolma = a dish prepared with rice, raisins, grams, plums, and meat balls.  
 138. maye P. māya = ferment/leaven  
 139. tusha P. tughatusha wa gushe = provisions for journey  
     = food and lodging  
 140. konjī P. kunjud/konjd = sesame  
 141. dasim P. distina = any female ornament for the wrist  
 142. hacka P. angushtar = finger ring  
 143. nul P. nul = needle for hair or clothes  
 144. lingin P. langari = basin, a kind of drinking glass  
 145. lagan P. lakan = bowl/basin  
 146. ab khiri P. abish khwar = ewer/drinking vessel  
 147. kamcha P. chamcha = spoon

148. teólawak P. liela = tube
149. dig P. dig = vase/pot/kettle
150. golabpash P. golabpash = vase for rose water
151. dartu P. darwaza = entrance door
152. parr P. pat/parr = a wing/door-wing
153. tashgâh P. âtashgâh = hearth
154. chati-riza P. riza kulf = hinge and bolt padlock  
kulf-riza
155. malat P. milât = mortar
156. kulâh P. kulah tarangi = shade made with a mat placed on  
four poles.
157. komare P. kamar = sheep-fold
158. dâlîz P. dahîz = vault
159. toshang P. golula gol-gola = bullet, a musket bar
160. asa P. chub-e-dasta sar dast = walking stick
161. sorb P. sorb = lead
162. tsha P. tsha = axe/blade
163. gâz P. gâz = chisel
164. kalam P. kalam = engraving tool a reed pen
165. sohn P. suhan = file
166. chakosh P. chakish cheket = hammer
167. pek P. puk = sledge hammer
168. putle P. putle = smith's hammer
169. kalang P. kulung kelend = pick-axe
170. bil P. bil = shovel
171. pahil P. chub-e-pa = the wood for placing the foot on
172. sekamh P. sandah = throne chair bench seat
173. khume P. hime = fire wood wood
174. tur P. tur tur = a net a fishing net metal gauze
175. ôsio P. âsyâb = water-mill
176. javan P. javan = big wooden mortar
177. bar havan P. bar havan = pestle
178. parre ôsia P. parr = sweep of a water mill
179. ger ger P. ghar ghar = toothed wheel
180. gushmaht P. gush meah = shell
181. chashm-e shur P. chashm = amulet
182. waqâ P. râzyana = anise
183. gap P. gab = chief



- 184 a. odan-wanī P. dandanbandī = dove cooing  
 185 kombol P. tambol = dwarf  
 186 kharra P. khara = earth infiltrated  
 187 durūt P. durughi = falsehood/lie  
 188 kot-kot P. kotāh kotāh = fragments  
 189 rargah P. jarg-jargah = a circle ring, gang  
 190 silah/silā P. suterh/surākh = hole  
 191 mel P. mail = inclination  
 192 mā il P. mā il = inclined  
 193 zal P. zal = an old man a woman  
 194 montarkar P. molarkar = a motor car  
 195 luna P. lana = nest  
 196 dayus P. dayuth = pimp a contented cuckold  
 197 darra P. darah = a pass between two mountains ravine  
 198 kerk kab kab = rib the bottom or base of a cup  
 199 wāj P. rig-rig = sand  
 200 remahan P. rim-e-āhan = scorry  
 201. chapar P. chapar = a palisade a wooden hut  
 202 belesk P. bidest = span  
 203 amach P. āmaj = target  
 204 doz P. duzd/ dozd = thief  
 205 dakhma P. dakhm dakhma a tomb  
 206 ezmut P. azmāvash = trial  
 207 rosi P. rāsti = truth  
 208 shosheshash P. shāsha = urine  
 209 shoft shor P. shoshta shui = washing morning toilet  
 210 bezoar P. pazahr padzahr = antidote against poison
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## LONGANES OF THE IRANIAN AIR FORCE

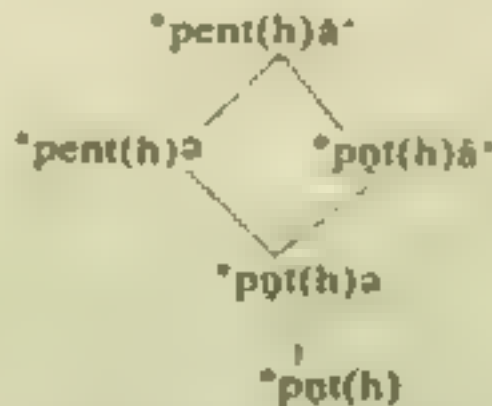
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# Declension of Old Indo-Aryan *Pathin*

Mrinal Kanti Nath

The declension for the word 'path way' *pathin* according to Sanskrit grammarians—is generally taken as declining with a variety of stems, called heteroclisis. In the above mentioned paradigm the stems employed are the following *panthā-*, *pathi-*, *(patha-)*, *path-* *panthān-*. As the paradigm shows such a variety of forms, the scholars have called the declension as heteroclitical or suppletive one (see Brugmann 1893 479, Thumb 1905, Wackernagel 1930 301). However, a closer scrutiny and analysis from the Indo-European proto-form based on the evidences of the cognate languages lead one to an altogether different conclusion. The cognates available for the word for 'path, way' are as follows. OIA *panthā*, Greek *pontos*, *pato*, Latin *pons*, *pontis*, Gothic *finþan*, Old English *findan*, Old High German *funn* etc. On the basis of these cognates one can reconstruct the proto-form as a dissyllabic heavy base—IE *\*pent(h)ā*. The word is found with vowel gradation in both the syllables and the vowel gradational tree may be drawn like this :



From these vowel gradational forms only IE *\*pent(h)a* and *\*pnt(h)ā* have no reflexes in OIA, but other IE forms are directly inherited in OIA, e.g. IE *\*pent(h)ā* : OIA *panthā-* ; IE *\*pnt(h)a* OIA *pathi-* ; IE *\*pnt(h)* OIA *path*. These forms explain the following OIA declensional forms. Nominative singular *panthā-s* (cf. Avestan *paniā*) ; Instrumental plural *pathi-bhis* (cf. Avestan *pada-biš*), dative-ablative plural *pathi-bhyām* ; Instrumental singular *pathā* (cf. Avestan *paθn*), genitive singular *path-as*, dative singular *path-e*. In the declensional system of the Sanskrit language the form *patha* does not occur, but

its existence may be inferred from the compounds such as **pathe-sthā**, a locative singular form.

The form next remains is **panthān-**. This is found in nominative (dual and plural), accusative (singular and plural) and genitive (singular and plural). This form is simply an example of congeneric analogy of the synonymous word **adhvan** (see Bartholomae 1904 : 118 ; Brugmann 1893 : 479 ; Wackernagel. The stem **panthān** arose out like this : **adhvānam** : **panthānam** ; **adhvānas** : **panthānas**. So the stem **panthān** may be attributed to analogical levelling.

From the above analysis it is seen that the declensional paradigm for **pathin** in OIA though apparently declining with a variety of stems, is nothing but the resultant of ablaut gradation. These forms come from a single IE proto-form **\*pent(h)ā\***. Hence, the declension for the word "path, way" cannot be an example of heteroclisis or suppletion as it employs the same stem with different ablaut grades of the same I.E. proto-form.

One peculiar thing that should be mentioned here that the nature of ablaut gradation of the declension of **pathin**. In comparison to other types of declension, it is irregular in some respects, and hence this declension pattern offers no parallel in the paradigmatic classes of Old Indo-Aryan and it in itself stands as a type. Moreover, the form **pathin** of Sanskrit grammararians is totally absent in this declension.

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# Relative Chronology Of Indo-European Vocabulary

Subhadra Kumar Sen

The fact that Indo-European (hereafter IE) is a reconstructed language makes certain enquiries about the language somewhat illusory. If—as was pointed out by Meillet years ago in his monograph<sup>1</sup> on IE. dialects—we had sufficiently archaic data for all the individual dialects our understanding of the dialectal situation of the proto-speech would have been far better than it is now. This would have also shed light on the problem hinted at the title of the present paper. The illusiveness referred to above is perhaps most evident when any attempt is made to establish the relative chronology of vocabulary of the Ur-Sprache.

It is possible to say fairly accurately the date of appearance of words like *handbook* (O.E. *handbōc*) or *gospel* (O.E. *gōdspel*) in English. But if we are confronted with the question : When did the word \**pāter* appear in IE. we do not have any authentic answer. Or, if it is asked : did the pairs such as \**pāter* : \**attas* or \**pellur* : \**elognis* exist simultaneously in the language—what will be the answer ?

It is true that in a few cases a tentative relative chronology of the words can be adduced. I have discussed the first pair \**pāter* : \**attas* elsewhere. On the second pair i.e. \**pellur* : \**elognis* certain observations can be made along the line suggested by Meillet and Ernout<sup>2</sup>. Meillet and Ernout label \**elognis* as a *mot de caractère religieux*. If the sprachgefühl of the authors is not to be spurned the other word for 'fire' (i.e., \**pellur*) is connected with the activity of daily life. So the pair may be taken to represent an opposition between 'sacrificial fire' and 'culinary fire' or 'fire used in other mundane activity'. This subtle difference in meaning assumes a highly developed poetic diction, which in its turn would presume a cultural state of pretty high order attained by the speech community. Thus it can be suggested that \**elognis* might have been a need-filling creation necessitated by the religio-cultural upliftment of the Indo-European society. Since no "hard" or "concrete" facts can be cited in favour of the proposed view the whole idea can be dismissed



as extremely fortuitous. But in my opinion a proposed explanation can be replaced only when a more logical explanation of the facts is found. Otherwise the suggested one should not be rejected summarily on subjective consideration.

IE. is reconstructed on "comparison." Can we not apply the same method in dating the vocabulary of the proto-speech? In my opinion the most archaic component of the IE vocabulary, on the basis of attestation, can be identified.

Mycenaean Greek and Hittite offer the most archaic specimens within the entire IE. language family. Mycenaean documents date from 1450 B. C. Hittite documents—even if the claim that Anittas tablet is dated 1800 B. C.<sup>2</sup> is rejected—are older than the Linear B tablets. Under the circumstances pairing of Mycenaean and Hittite words should give us the oldest attested IE. words. Here follows a list—certainly not exhaustive—of lexical items common to Mycenaean and Hittite. The Mycenaean words are cited from the word list of the second edition of Ventris and Chadwick. Where the etymology of the word in either language is doubtful the form is prefixed with an asterisk. In case the equation has already been suggested the form is marked with a plus sign.

### *Mycenaean*

a-ku-ro /arguro-/ 'silver'  
 a-ka-ra-no /a(<η>-karāno-s/ 'headless'  
 \*di-wi-jo /diwijo-/ 'divine ?'  
 (<diwjo-> Diwas)  
 + e-e-si /ehensi/ 'they are'  
 Ka-ra-to /kalatho-/ 'basket'  
 me-ri /meli-/ 'honey'  
 me-ki-ta /megista/ 'of the largest size'  
 ne-wo /newo-/ 'new, young'  
  
 pa-ke-we /pakhewes/ 'thick'  
 pu-ka-wo /pur-(kawot)/ 'firekindler'  
 \*g-e-ra-jo /K\*hēraio-/ (<ethnic of  
 thēr<\*ghwēr-'  
 re-u-ko /leuko-/ 'white'  
 u-do /hudor/ 'water'  
 sa-pa /sarpa/ 'textile'

### *Hittite*

harki- 'bright'  
 \*harlan- 'head'  
  
 Šius 'god'  
 asanzi 'ibid'  
 + kaluti 'circle'  
 milit 'ibid'  
 \*mekki- 'much'  
 newit (inst. of \*newa-)  
 'new, fresh'  
 pankus 'whole, entire'  
 pahhur 'fire'  
  
 kwera- 'field'  
 lukk- 'to shine'  
 water 'ibid.'  
 \*sarpa 'hide'

## Notes and Bibliography :

1. Meillet, Antoine *The Indo-European Dialects* (English translation by Samuel N. Rosenberg). University of Alabama Press, Alabama, 1967 p. 12.
2. Meillet, A & Ernout, A : *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue Latine*. C. Klincksieck, Press, 1959 pp. 307-8.
3. Kronasser, H : *Vergleichende Laut-und Formenlehre des Hethitischen*, C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1956. "Seine and des Vaters Taten (um 1800) sind auf der sog. *Anitta-Tafel*, dem ältesten bisher bekannten Text in einer indogermanischen sprache, verewigt." (p. 1).
4. Kronasser *op. cit* § 105, p. 85.
5. Ventris, M & Chadwick, J : *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* Second edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1973. The word is labelled "obscure" in the glossary (p. 539, column II) despite Mühlestein's suggestion quoted (p. 190). See also Pokorny, J. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 185.
6. Ventris & Chadwick *op. cit* glossary p. 542, column I.
7. Jaan Puhvel in '*Basket*' in *Greek and Hittite* (American Journal of Philology, 98, 1977) pointed out the similarity between Hittite *kaluti* and Greek *kalathos*'s (specially pages 150-151). Puhvel, however, does not refer to the Mycenaean form. But the Mycenaean *kalatho-* and *kalathos*'s identity is considered "possible" by Ventris & Chadwick (glossary, p. 551, column I).
8. Double writing of *k* in *mekki*-points an unvoiced stop.
9. Pokorny, J. : *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Francke, Bern und München, 1959 ff. \* *gh<sup>h</sup>er* is glossed "wildes Tier" (p. 493).